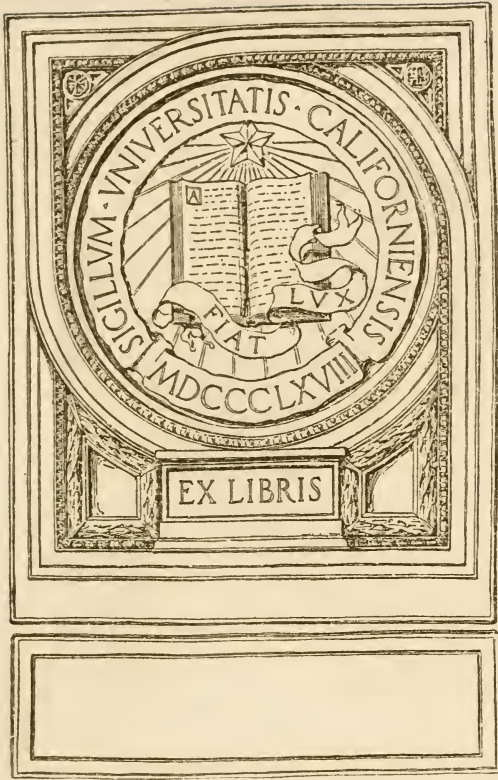


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Oxford Historical Society

VOL. XXXIX.

OXFORD TOPOGRAPHY

HURST

Oxford

HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

Oxford Topography:

AN ESSAY

BY

HERBERT HURST, B.A.

*Forming a Companion Volume to the Portfolio
containing Agas's Map (1578-88) and other Old Plans of Oxford
and incorporating Leonard Hutten's Dissertation on the
Antiquities of Oxford (written about 1625-30)*

WITH SKETCH MAP



Oxford

PRINTED FOR THE OXFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1899

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PREFATORY NOTE

MR. HERBERT HURST has been good enough to undertake, at the request of the Committee of the Oxford Historical Society, a Commentary on Agas's Plan or View of Oxford, taking for his text the Perambulation by Leonard Hutten, already printed by the Society in Mr. Plummer's edition of Tracts relating to Elizabethan Oxford (O. H. S., vol. viii. pp. 83-104). Much still remains to be done before the topography of ancient Oxford can be regarded as satisfactorily investigated, but Mr. Hurst has been able to draw on a large amount of material, gathered chiefly by Brian Twyne, which has not been made use of since the seventeenth century. It is hoped that this Commentary, taken in connexion with the Portfolio of Plans of Old Oxford (vol. xxxviii) and Mr. Clark's new edition of Wood's *History of the City* (vols. xv, xvii, xxxvii, with two plans), will mark a real advance in the study of the topographical antiquities of the City and University.

The contents of the two linked volumes now issued to members of the Society are as follows:—

Vol. xxxviii.

1. Agas's Plan of Old Oxford, from the unique copy (imperfect) in the Bodleian Library, made in 1578 and engraved in 1588, in eight sheets.
2. Whittlesey's engraving of Agas's Plan, made in 1728 from a perfect copy: with engravings of Bereblock's Views of the Colleges, made in 1566: in four sheets.
3. Hollar's Plan of Oxford, 1643: in one sheet.
4. Loggan's Plan of Oxford, from plate II of his *Oxonia Illustrata*, issued in 1675: in two sheets.

Vol. xxxix.

The topographical part of Leonard Hutten's Antiquities of Oxford, written in about 1625-1630, but describing the appearance of the city in the time of Elizabeth, and so forming a companion to Agas's Plan. Each section of this forms a lemma for a dissertation by Mr. Hurst, which criticizes and greatly extends Hutten's account. A sketch-map, and small figures in the inner top margin of each page indicating the sheets of Agas corresponding to the text, facilitate the joint use of the two volumes. The Index has been compiled by Mr. George Parker, of the Bodleian Library.

[August, 1899.]

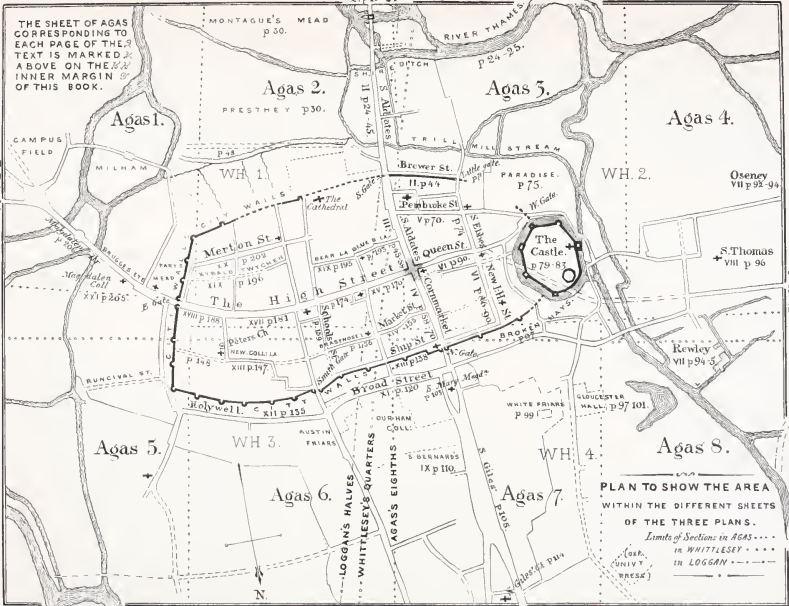
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SKETCH MAP	before I

THE SHEET OF AGAS
CORRESPONDING TO
EACH PAGE OF THE
TEXT IS MARKED
ABOVE ON THE
INNER MARGIN
OF THIS BOOK.

To Fochingdon
XXI p. 207.



To Hinkley
VIII p. 277.

PLAN TO SHOW THE AREA
WITHIN THE DIFFERENT SHEETS
OF THE THREE PLANS.

Limits of Sections in AGAS . . .
in WHITTLESEY
(dash, thin line)
in LOGGAN
(dotted line)

AGAS'S PLAN AND HUTTEN'S SURVEY



INTRODUCTION

To any one who comprehends the bearing of this reproduction of Agas's Plan of Oxford upon the other publications of the Oxford Historical Society, it will be clear that it is not so much the man, his method of working, his connexion with other early draughtsmen of cities, that should be here noticed, as the value of this one performance, the intrinsic features of this relic of early planning. To those intimate with the historians of Oxford, the question is opened whether this was not the very map that Anthony Wood consulted when he condensed and arranged in his *City* the confused and voluminous collections made by Twyne and himself. Others, again, who have given attention to the annals of Oxford in the Parliamentary war, must welcome this opportunity of comparing an Elizabethan map of the city with one of Charles the Second's time, when almost all the castle had been 'slighted,' and the meadows around given up to the pioneer's pick, shovel, and barrow, or traversed with fresh dykes for the better 'drowning' of the lower ground on the south. That this one copy of the Oxford Plan should be still spared to the Bodleian, its natural keeper, that not another of the three copies known to Hearne in the early part of the eighteenth century should be left, is so very remarkable that one may fairly be allowed to call attention to the fact. From his diaries Hearne seems to have given some attention to the copies of this Plan, as he notes (*Diary* 107, p. 9) how Mr. Baker the wiredrawer of Cornmarket had secured one from Stanton Harcourt, and had been ten years in getting it, and (*Diary*

THE SHEET OF AGAS
CORRESPONDING TO
EACH PAGE OF THE
TEXT IS MARKED
ABOVE ON THE
INNER MARGIN
OF THIS BOOK.

Agas 1.

PR 4.

CAMPUS
FIELD.

MILHAM

p 48

Osenev
VII p 92-94.

To Boleshippton
XXI. p. 207.

Magdalen
p. 206

Magdalen
Coll.
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B. Gate

Mert

S. Thomas
VIII p. 96.

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KYBALD
XIX

Th

XVIII p. 188

p 148

RUNCIVAL ST.

Holywel

To Hinksey
VIII p. 127.

Agas 5.

THE AREA
OF THESE SHEETS
IS DIVIDED INTO
PLANS.
AGAS ----
OSENEV
HINKSEY

AGAS'S PLAN AND HUTTEN'S SURVEY



INTRODUCTION

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109, p. 3) how an antiquarian friend had been pleased with it; and again how a second copy had passed from his friend Dr. Charlett's hands into those of Dr. Brathwaite, Warden of Winchester. Fortune has again been kind to us, in that Whittlesey furnishes us with a very fair reproduction of this Plan executed before the present gaps had been worn in it. This one copy only of the Oxford Plan, one of the Cambridge Plan, and two copies of the Map of London remain; and the question naturally arises—What is the cause? The life of maps on vellum appears to be fairly long, that substance being both durable and flexible, and being never varnished, an operation injurious to a material which requires to be rolled and unrolled, because the inflexibility of a hard coat of varnish upon a flexible ground tends to the cracking or rending of both; an operation, too, that is decidedly perilous to a substance that has to be folded. But old maps or surveys printed on paper are extremely scarce, whether from being folded over and over again, or, as Overall suggests, from being so often suspended from walls. Forty years of ordinary use are often quite enough to destroy a modern map, even if on good paper carefully varnished and mounted on a roller not too small; what the result of three hundred years of use and abuse would be, when, owing to their scarcity, such maps as existed were more frequently consulted than would now be the case, is best left to the imagination. If we could obtain particulars of Agas which would give us a true insight into his powers of drawing and engraving, we might judge more safely than is now possible how far the actual execution of this plan is his, and how far he had to trust to an assistant. This we cannot do, but we have his own rather exalted estimate of his powers and experience in surveying, platting, arithmetic, and minute writing, backed up by a little side-evidence that he had been engaged under Government upon the Fens. The whole of the documents about him known to exist can be read in Overall's edition of Agas's Map of London, and there is a fairly complete life in the Dictionary of National Biography; but there is not in either a reference to sketching or engraving. His View of London, engraved on wood, is, as compared with that of Oxford, the rougher specimen of his work, and the verses from the Oxford 'type,' commencing 'Neare tenn yeares paste,' may well imply that he was unable for want of royal permission, or from some other unknown cause, to print his Plan of London, and that he had completed that of Oxford to fill up the interval; yet the peculiar dating of the one map and the absence of date in the other leave the question of priority in a very uncertain state. It is by

no means evident whether the ten years are to be counted from 1568 or 1578. As to the third plan, that of Cambridge, which like that of Oxford is an engraving on metal, it is without Agas's name, and yet it has Ryther's name and another's as engravers.

In his Plan of London, Agas indulged freely in the picture style of delineation; in that of Oxford he appears somehow to have taken the accurate plot (*plat*, as it was then called) and made it the foundation of a comprehensive view. In the London View, which may fairly be regarded, in style at least, as the earlier, he must of course have adopted some system of measuring by which he adjusted the buildings to their proper position, but the scale and the implied measurements are absent; but when we come to the Oxford Plan, the full apparatus of a scale with perches, paces, and ells, is conspicuously placed before us, and further attention is arrested by a figure of Mercury holding a formidable pair of compasses. The scale in the Cambridge Map, probably a production of his school, has a still more extensive apparatus for measuring. Mr. Willis Clark, in his *Architectural History of the Cambridge Colleges*, believes in the careful plotting in that plan, but thinks that the subsequent sketching of views from roofs, &c., was merely checked by some simple plan of pacing. It is not clear, from the Oxford Plan, whether Ryther worked in conjunction with Agas, or whether he became in 1588 simply the owner of the copyright, as we should now phrase it. The rivers in the Map are treated in a peculiar way, spotted irregularly with short lines easily made with a graver. When the engraving was done, the limner's art was called into play, gardens here and there had to be toned with green (they look very brown in the original, the colour being probably of vegetable origin and liable to change by age), the roofs had to be coloured mainly in red, a very few in grey, and the shields to be properly tintured. This last operation, in the Bodleian copy, has been only begun by a careless or inexpert workman; he makes the chevrons of Merton all red, and commits errors in other fields and charges; there is a hasty application of black in the shields of Brasenose, Corpus Christi, Exeter, and Magdalen, and special carelessness in the last of these. Finally, open fields and roads were to be tinted white, in the application of which just south of Christ Church—*above* it on the map—is a peculiar error or smear, which gives the impression of lines having been added by the moulder of the map. To the praise of the workman, if indeed he is not worthy of a higher title, let it be said that no such patching took place, and that no portion throughout the

map has been misplaced, the only weak point in his work being that the portions which make up the larger White Hall, facing the kitchen of Exeter College, have become extended. The ragged edges caused by folds must have given him an infinity of trouble; here alone his patience has not been rewarded—the Hall has become too wide to be correct. The application of white is worth referring to, as it opens out a little field for inquiry. There are to the east of St. Alban Hall, and along under the south part of Merton College, two white strips—it should not be forgotten that the cardinal points are, as it were, inverted in the Plan—should these be regarded as public ways or not? The probability of the first being a continuation of what is now called Logic Lane, and of the second being part of the *Via regia sub muro*, the 'Under-wall' of a later period, is great: they both appear in Hollar and in Loggan, but the former has become an orchard. Trees and water are nowhere coloured, nor are three of the fields: *first*, a triangular island in the stream (not the Swan's Nest) between the Castle and Blackfriars, which latter is written Graiefriars in the Plan, by error; *secondly*, the middle section of the meadow often called Merton fields; and *thirdly*, Magdalen water-meadow. As there were no rights of common over any of these, we may put this down to a desire of the painter to gain variety. There are no indications of lawns or forecourts in St. Giles' Road, or of grass-land in Holywell, and no sign of Canditch, but these may not all be omissions. The bastion in the Canon's garden near the Chapter-house is omitted, a point worth attention, because of Agas's connexion with Corpus Christi College, the owners. The toning and colouring hide so much of the engraving, that we are not surprised to find Mr. Dodwell (*Macray's Annals of the Bodleian*, 2nd ed., p. 475) puzzled 'whether it was printed or not.' The few losses which the Oxford Plan has undergone can be supplied from the Whittlesey engraving which accompanies it.

This production of Agas is certainly neither a plan nor a bird's-eye view, in the strict application of the term, for the word 'view,' as here applied, can scarcely be parted from the idea of perspective and vanishing points, and Agas gives us parallel lines only. Nothing better, one would say, could be devised than the old-fashioned term 'bird's-flight view.' The town is drawn as it would unfold itself to any one passing over it, as in a balloon, at a height sufficient to abolish sharpness of perspective, and yet low enough to allow of distinct view of the scene beneath. Call it, if you will, a view-plan in isometrical projection; but 'a bird's-flight view' is simpler

English, more concise, and sufficiently accurate. Isometrical projection serves its purpose best when the object is viewed angle-wise, not directly in front. Agas unfortunately stationed himself at the north of Oxford, a city whose streets intersect each other mainly at right angles, and towards the four cardinal points of the compass. As he had drawn London from the south because the north border of the Thames gave him the finest view, so now he took a view of Oxford from the north, and from that stand-point the majority of the buildings unluckily present only one face to the spectator. As a man skilled in the use of the rough instruments of observation of his day, the 'profitable staff and the improved theodolite,' he may have chosen the broad expanse of Beaumont fields—near to a well-known place of recreation, called Rome—and from it taken the positions of the taller objects in the City. He gives as his reason for choosing the north that it was the best and the best-known point of view. Almost any view not directly up one street and across another would have suited his mode of drawing better, because a quadrangular building with one face to the spectator shows but that one face; then if the point of view is raised, a corresponding face of the range in the rear becomes visible, but the two sides are lost, their roofs alone being seen. A consciousness of this made Agas, or Ryther, his engraver, in some cases thrust out the lower parts of these invisible sides that they might show themselves, and in others treat that which should have been the sloping side of a roof (as in Magdalen, east side) as a wall pierced with windows; this, however, in his days, would be no outrage upon prevailing fashion. In the corners of some quadrangles, as Merton and Christ Church, he represents towers as placed diagonally across the angle, and some of his towers, as St. Mary's and Carfax, seem to have spun round forty-five degrees to afford the spectator a view of two sides instead of one, and he has thus obtained the diagonal view which his point of observation denied him. Such peculiarities should be regarded as licences in perfect accordance with then existing fashion, rather than as examples of bad drawing. The insertion of false windows, and the making the heads of all to be circular or elliptical, should be ascribed to the same cause; to have done otherwise would have been a sin against fashion, a mark of ignorance of what was required. This last defect runs through the otherwise able drawings of Bereblocke, done as a present for Queen Elizabeth some years before. In one point, and that not a trifling one, the drawing

powers of Agas have vindicated themselves completely. On the top of the Castle mount stood once a castle keep; its general contour being not unlike the sketch now hanging in the Christ Church bursary, *minus* the fashionable windows and crenellations. Now that a trustworthy representation has been found, those who ridiculed Agas are themselves in a similar plight.

There are three dates to the Map. 1578 is on the title; on a small medallion at the bottom is 'Augustinus Ryther Anglus deliniavit 1588'; in the verses over the scale, we have '... would make sheow, how it <London> was beste beseene | the thirtieth yeare, of our moste noble queene' [1587-8]¹. The payment by the University took place in 1578: there are, then, two sets of contradictory statements. The word 'thirtieth' in the verses shows no sign of having been tampered with; but yet the medallion of Ryther, being of more delicate workmanship, may be an addition made when, as may have happened, the plates became his own property, and when he lived as a printseller near Leadenhall. The date is of no very great importance, whether 1578 or 1588; the Map was clearly executed after the large woodcut of London, and before the engraving of Cambridge, that bears John Hammond's name, with the date 1592. Dodd only, in his *Connoisseur's Repository*, Pt. I (12mo, Manchester, 1825), speaks of a Cambridge Map by Agas dated 1578, probably concluding in haste that the two early maps of the Universities now in the Bodleian were by the same hand, and engraved in the same year. As Jesus College, Oxford, was established about 1571, it is surprising to find its site occupied by the two White Halls and very little else, but on the other hand Jesus College did not effect much in the way of building till 1580, when that part of Agas's task may have been accomplished. Setting aside the unverified production of 1578, it is worth noticing that Cambridge attained its first befitting plan within four years of the completion or publishing of the Oxford Map. This may be a kind of sequence to the dispute about the relative antiquity of the two Universities; it may be, too, that the same plotter was employed by both. Certainly Agas's name does not occur on the Cambridge Plan, yet the execution and the colouring are so similar in both, that the best judges have set down the later one, some as belonging to a similar school, some as proceeding from the same school, and others as the genuine

¹ The lines 'Quae tibi mater erat &c.' and the shield bearing Sir Christopher Hatton's arms, encircled by the Garter, cannot be earlier than 1588, the year in which Hatton became Chancellor of the University.

work of Agas himself. The legend upon it is worth quoting in full, for it seems more like the utterance of a patron of another's production than a declaration by a simple surveyor or planner. It is this:—

‘Habes in hac Carta (spectator candide) novam Cantebrigiae descriptionem, quam per scalae mensuram multo quam antehac accuratius examinatum ad veros situs reduximus. Tu vero qua es humanitate aequi bonique consulas. Interim fruiere et bene vale. Cantebrigiae ex aula Clarensi, die 22 mensis februarii 1592. Johañes Hamond.’

In the fourteen, or possibly four, years that elapsed between the publication of the earlier and of the later map, Agas or Hammond, or rather those who worked under them, had made but little advance in plotting; but two lines added to the scale may indicate that measurement was more expected by the public, if not more carefully followed out, than previously. Mr. Willis Clark does not rate the accuracy of this Cambridge Map very high, nor can the present writer claim more for that of Oxford. To estimate with fairness the discrepancies between Agas's Plan and the actual measurements of the city streets, roads, &c., it seemed best to compare: (1) distances north and south; (2) distances east and west; (3) distances taken diagonally, and lastly to compare smaller dimensions and a few heights of buildings. When it was observed that Agas's scale of paces, each equal to five feet, gave the correct length of St. Mary the Virgin's Church, all seemed to promise well for his accuracy; but it soon appeared that this measurement and another, also rather central, are the only two in which Agas is at all accurate.

1. Measurements north to south are:—

	By Agas.	By Hoggar.
Denchworth Bow to middle of Carfax	1505 ft.	1644 ft.
South end of Catt Street to North face of Our Lady's Chapel	680	738
North face of Bocardo to South fence of St. Giles' church-yard	1650	1839
St. George's Tower (central) to NE. angle of Gloucester College	1090	1320

Which gives an average in Agas of about 12 per cent. short measure.

2. Measurements east to west are:—

East of No. 1 Holywell to middle of Parks Road	990	1088
Merton Street, extreme length	915	1011
Oriel Lane (central) to Carfax (central)	725	849

	By Agas.	By Hoggar.
SE. angle of the old Church Street, St. Thomas, to Carfax (central)	2630 ft.	2352 ft.

Here the measurements differ considerably, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other, though the totals happen to be nearly equal.

3. Measurements diagonally are:—

St. George's Tower to Carfax (both central)	1150	1332
Bocardo (central) to East of Castle Stream, at Rewley Stream junction	1695	1974
Holywell Church (W. door) to SE. angle of roads at Carfax	2355	2709
NW. angle of Merton Chapel (transept) to outside of angular bastion, New College gardens	1515	1461
SE. angle of Merton garden to North of Our Lady's Chapel	1710	1683

Three of which average about 12 per cent. short measure, one is nearly right, and one is about 10 per cent. in excess.

4. Smaller distances, &c., result thus:—

Length of Cathedral	167	144
Length of St. Mary the Virgin	180	180
Length of West front of Oriol College	165	165
Length of South front of Oriol College	180	222
St. John's College, old quadrangle, East to West	122	132
Magdalen, old quadrangle, East to West	97	135
Christ Church, main quadrangle, North to South	205	270
Width of St. Giles' Road, South of the churchyard	222	252

Two of which are correct, but yet the average is about 11 per cent. short.

5. As to heights, it is more difficult to test Agas's accuracy, owing to mistakes in the mounting of the eight sheets of which the Map is composed.

Magdalen Tower	125 ft.,	should be	145 ft.
St. Mary's Spire	245	„	189
Cathedral Spire	165	„	144

These give an excess of about 17 per cent.

It is very surprising that the total errors in these measurements should be so great. The scale, five inches in length, is carefully drawn and fairly well divided, and makes us unwilling to suppose it has been drawn too long. The incorrect results seem, then, to result either from using too long a chain or rod, or from a rough system of measuring. Agas poses in one place as the improver of the steel chain of two poles length, and he could scarcely have gone wrong in that matter. We must therefore conclude that his measurements were badly taken; we can scarcely think, he being a cripple, that if he paced out measurements, two of his strides would measure more than the usual pace of five feet in length. Incorrect as the measurements

prove to be, there seems to be some truth in the idea that the streets were planned before the picture was made.

Agas's Map not only aided Wood in his investigations, and perhaps, too, misled him in his description of two of the angles at Carfax (*City*, i. 127, 193), but was also of service to Loggan when he completed his book of Plates for the University, by adding the beautiful Scenographia Oxoniensis. The following statement, as yet unpublished, but legibly written on Wood's copy of this Plan of Loggan's (now in Wood's MS. 276 b), explains the entire matter: 'Memorandum that this map or platforme of the University and Citie of Oxon was mostly drawne by the hande (with a pencil) of David Loggan the University Engraver an. 1673, engraven on a copper plate an. 1674 and published with the book of Maps of Colleges and Halls an. 1675. The said Dav. Loggan using my direction in the matter and an old map of Oxon that I have in my hands, he in gratitude gave me the map in Aprill an. 1675. Ant. à Bosco.' Twyne, writing about 1630 (*Tw.* 23, 548), also refers to the Map in a criticizing manner: 'In the examination of one Richard Pawmer A.D. 1574 there is mention made of a lane called Sommeners lane leadinge from Exceter Coll. to Smythgate. Whereby may be gathered the extent of that lane, reachinge from North-gate Street by Bocardo to Smythgate, or rather to New Colledge as it is there directly affirmed namely that Somenour Lane leadeth from St. Michael's Church in the north, to Newe College and soe it is there avouched upon oath; what then will become of S. John's Stret which old Mr. Wyndser and the map of Oxford sett forth by Agase say was the name of a strete leading from Smythgate downe by Newe College? Whereas here it is deposed that all that lane which leadeth from St. Michael's Church in the North to Newe Coll., is Someners Lane. The same appeareth out of another examination there.'

Now, there is a Dissertation on Oxford, a kind of topographical sketch, of about the same date as the Map, and it will be the aim of this paper to show how the one illustrates the other. This is the *Antiquities of Oxford*, by Leonard Hutten, a Canon of Christ Church and an author of some repute, published by the Oxford Historical Society in their eighth volume, 1887. The few particulars of his uneventful life will be found on p. xiii of that volume, and in the *Athenae Oxon.* ii. 532-4 (ed. Bliss). His mural monument, once at the west end of the Latin Chapel, over the spot where he was buried, is now placed in the north transept, under the most northerly of the west

windows. On seven waving scrolls, in a somewhat ornamental lettering, can still be read:—‘Leonardus Hutten, | 17^o die Maii Anno 1632, aetatis suae 75, | Animam Deo reddidit | eruditam, simplicem, piam, | Doctor in Theologia, et in hac capella Moderator | dignissimus, Prebendarius hujus Ecclesiae per aÑos prope triginta duos | integerrimus.’ The work seems to have been written between 1600 and 1632. Wood had seen four copies of it, and he spoke of it as mostly taken from Brian Twyne’s *Apologia*. Wood’s remarks (*Athenae Oxon.* loc. cit.) are these: ‘I have seen four copies of it, but could get little or nothing from them when I was writing *The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxon.*’ Hearne (*Textus Roffensis*, pp. xxxvii seqq.) is not pleased with this estimate, and says its author ‘was a man of varied erudition, and an illustrious antiquarian, *vir multijugae eruditionis et antiquarius eximius*. There are very many things stated in the book that are pleasing and worth being known. Moreover, the author died not much before the late civil war spread over the country, a war by far the most severe of all, one which not only grievously shook the Universities, but almost blotted out the very name: it spared no place, sacred or profane. A gentleman renowned for his industry has asserted that almost all his facts have been taken from Twyne. I would prefer to say that the gentleman was himself the most diligent plagiarist, and owed much to Hutten. That the gentleman I have hinted at spoke the above in a fit of ill-will, everybody will acknowledge, who will take the trouble to compare the little work of our author with Twyne, for he much excelled him in reputation for talent, for judgement, and for learning.’

No strict imitation of Hutten’s kindly, chatty manner will be attempted—it would be out of place here. His hasty outline will be filled up with a few details acquired during the last twenty years, which will bring the topographical information somewhat up to present date, and perhaps be of service to those who wish to know early Oxford a little more intimately, and so to enjoy the use of a map so wonderfully preserved for us. Topographical information alone will be aimed at; dry details will be as much as possible avoided. Agas’s is but the outline of a picture, Hutten’s a hurried sketch. Just so much will be attempted here as will, it is hoped, prove an easily-read and pleasing supplement to both. Something will be added as to architecture, of which Anthony Wood was ignorant, or rather heedless, and Twyne will be constantly appealed to for new facts. In this way, perhaps some of the censure courted by so bold an undertaking may

be avoided. With the vast apparatus of Twyne, with an unusual insight into the thousands of muniments which the University and City possess, it must have been no easy matter even for a master, like Wood, to produce his admirable work on the City of Oxford. It will be the writer's duty in a very few cases to controvert certain of Wood's statements, and he will, at all times, try to go back to the documentary history of the various sites, and to avoid useless guessing, preferring to say 'not proven' rather than to give a more decisive verdict.

It is not till we arrive at page 105 of the original of Hutten that we 'compose ourselves,' to enter the City from the south, 'as coming from Abingdon,' and on the next page we enter the district whose topography is for a time to be our study. As we proceed, we shall refer in the proper places to his sections upon the Abbeys and Religious Orders, which occupy the earlier pages of his book. Our author does not at first seem very systematic in his peregrination. He hurries from Folly Bridge to Carfax and on to Bocardo, perhaps with the intention of marking the central division of the whole city; then he returns to the bridge, and speaks of the west side of Oxford, working round by St. Ebbe's and Hythe Bridge, and going to the extreme north-west point, that is, to Godstow. Then returning to Bocardo, he treats of Holywell and north Oxford; completes the north-east section of the City, then the south-east, journeying by Merton, the Eastgate, and so ending at St. Clement's. An index-map will explain this.

On looking over the pages and noticing the authorities quoted, it might be thought that two of them, Wood's D. 2 and Twyne 23, have been too frequently made use of, but these are really the two great collections left us on the topography of Oxford. It need scarcely be remarked that the system of appealing to them, and not to the originals whence they were collected, though a very ready one, can only be accepted as a temporary measure. Let us hope that in the century now so close at hand a calendar of Oxford documents may be completed, to which, as something final, references can be hereafter made. The bracket < > has been used to include words or explanations which do not form part of the quotation in which it occurs. Some of the dates are followed by *m.*, others by *f.*; the former are derived from the chronological list of Mayors, which has been rendered pretty complete from the labours of Twyne and the additions of Wood and others; the latter are roughly calculated from the time of life (the *floruit*) of the persons named.

The following abbreviations have been used in giving references to MSS. or printed books :—

Bo. = Boase's Register of Exeter College (O. H. S. xxvii).

Wi. = Wigram's Cartulary of St. Frideswyde (O. H. S. xxviii and xxxi): this is cited by the number of the Charter, not by the page.

Pl. = Plummer's Elizabethan Oxford (O. H. S. viii).

City = Wood's City of Oxford, ed. Clark (O. H. S. xv and xvii).

Bal. = Ballard MS. 69 in the Bodleian.

V. = Wood's MS. D. 2, as so cited by himself, in his City of Oxford and elsewhere.

O. = Wood's MS. C. 1.

AGAS'S PLAN AND HUTTEN'S SURVEY¹.

i. Hincksey to Folly Bridge.

P. 106. 'And now beeing come to the descent of the Hill and entered into the Causy, it will not bee amisse to know upon what ground we goe. For it is not naturall Ground, but forc'd and made Ground, and called (as wee said before) a Cawsie.'

Having descended Hincksey Hill and, turning northward, passed Cold Arbour on the right and part of New Hincksey on the left, when we arrive at the Recreation Ground there, we come upon an embanked road, which was formerly a road raised on arches. This south road into Oxford, the east road and the west, all had these arched roads in former days. The rush of the flood-water from the Thames and Cherwell basins demanded it; and still demands it. The two or three open arches of Magdalen Bridge will prove far inferior, for the purpose of carrying off floods, to the old Estbrugge with its twenty-five arches. On the south or Hincksey road, and on the west just beyond Oseny Bridge, embankments conceal the rows of arches. In the latter road, no doubt, the narrowing of the water-course by land raised for building upon, will cause serious mischief when some wet winter comes or heavy thunderstorm.

'haveing in it above 40. Arches of Stone, I will not saie first founded, but very well repaired and restored by the charge of Doctor John Claymond the first President of

¹ The word *survey* has been adopted, though not used by Hutten, to distinguish his itinerary from the rest of the dissertation which does not so much concern us. The final section, descriptive of the buildings, was probably never written (v. p. 153 of the original).

C. C. C. according to that which Shepreue speaketh of him writing his life.

P. 107. Egredederis portam, quae recta vergit ad Austrum :
Clamondi nummis compita strata vides.'

This range of arches with round heads seemed so solidly constructed to a former student of such matters, Mr. Frederick Morrell, that he esteemed them to be of Roman construction ; but there have been no Roman bricks or other signs discovered in them. Still, the idea of the two Wick farms, one of which now remains, worked in well with that theory. The situation was too low for the Romans to make a road upon, and the very few of their remains found in the city forbid us to think it was much occupied by them. Hutten's words may be taken to mean that extensive repairs were carried out here by Claymond. 'Crossways paved by the purse of Claymond' can mean little more than this. Miles Windsor (*Bal.* p. 65, containing Wood's notes) describes the Great South Bridge as extending 1,000 paces, probably 2,000 feet, on more than forty arches. As he was a member of Corpus Christi College, he would naturally take pride in the bridge that Claymond had repaired. He seems the first to mention the number of arches. The underground features of the road are worth our study, as some primitive work may be found on this very early and very necessary way from Abingdon to Oxford. From the observations of Mr. C. H. Churms, the foreman of the City Works Department, we may be almost sure that this arched road reaches down to the New Hospital for infectious diseases. The observations quoted result mainly from short sections across the road made for gas and water-pipes, the pipes as a rule being laid at one side or other of the stone arches, in the added soil. Where Edith Road opens on it, there exists an archway with a triangularly-pointed head. The sloping stones which, leaning against each other, make the arch, are about five feet long ; and this dimension, making due allowance for key-stones at the apex and at the haunches, would form a passage for water of about nine feet wide. Under our road, at its junction with Newton Road, is a good semicircular arch quite perfect. After some fifteen yards, commence the arches—tolerably perfect except where cut through for gas-pipes—that seem to be of Claymond's time. The spans of the arches are from seven to nine feet, and the piers between them between four and five. Allowing twelve and a half feet as the average sum of the two measurements above, and

multiplying by 40, we obtain 500 feet, which is not enough to reach along the margin of the smallest field there. The road is now so much wider than the old causeway that no part of an arch can be seen. Forty to fifty years ago, a few of the arches were partly open on the west side in the field once called House Close, just south of the Old White House Lane, which once had a remarkably winding brook running through it, still marked by willow trees and known as The Roundabout Stream. Other arches also were visible north of this field. It seems very probable that the forty arches mentioned by Hutten were either one entire group or several groups interspersed along the road, wherever the land lay lowest, the total number of arches being forty. Wood in 1660 saw three from Denchworth to Grandpont, twenty-six more down to Estwyck, and sixteen more beyond that to the mill near the railway bridge—forty-five in all (*City*, i. 416). The material, as far as can be judged from the specimens kindly supplied to me, is stone from North Hincksey quarry, west of St. Lawrence Church. That the name Bridge was applied to this causeway in the time of Faritius, the Abbot of Abingdon, that is somewhere between 1100 and 1117, is clear from the Abingdon Chronicle (Rolls Series, vol. ii. 140). The Chronicle tells how Ermenold a Burgess of Oxford and tenant of Cnap Hall, as we learn elsewhere, got one year behind with his rent for 'Wica which is near the bridge of Oxenford,' valued 40s., and how the Abbot next harvest seized the crops and occupied the land. Then Ermenold obtained the services of Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, and Richard of Stanlache, who managed, either because the innkeeper was sick of the world or because his affairs were in such a wretched condition, that the whole of Ermenold's possessions should go into the hands of the Abbey, and that the late tenant, or perhaps part owner, should be maintained in Abingdon Abbey or in the town by the monks: to this proposal his wife and son agreed, and the portmannimote of Oxford confirmed the proceedings. A few years later, when Abbot Ingulph leased the Wick to Nicholas the priest and Robert his nephew, the same description is given. The editor, Mr. J. Stevenson, dates the lease between 1100 and 1135, but as Ingulph only began to rule in 1130, we can fix the date more nearly.

P. 107. 'Betweene the foresaid Towne of Ifely and Kennington, the River is very broad and shallow, and maketh that famous Ford, which giveth name unto the Citty, which as the Historie of Oxford saith, *à quodam vado vicino populus*

Saxonicus nominavit Oxenford, & ad locum Studii praelegit: The Saxons from a certaine Ford neare unto the Towne named Oxenford, and appointed it for a Place of Study. If any man require auntienter names; it was called Caer Mempric, Caer Vortigerne, Rydychen, Bellesitum, Caer Bosta &c. in the Brittain time, as Johannes Rossius testifieth.¹

It seems that our author regarded a ford some distance down the river, near where the Thames railway crosses it, as the 'neighbouring' ford which gave a name to the city, and not the more practicable one over the various small streams at Grandpont. The rendering of the stream navigable to Burcot upwards, in 1624¹, must of course have given a vastly different appearance to the river, so that no such ford or shallow water can now be traced. There are certainly two roads at Kennington Island which look as if they had a tendency towards the broad and shallow river there, but that is scarcely *between* Iffley and Kennington. Of these two, the Berkshire one comes from Little London to the chapel at Kennington, and passes straight onwards on the south of that building towards the river; the other commences near Littlemore Asylum, and arrives after some turnings at the Oxford side of the island. It is only part of the former that seems to bear any traces of great antiquity. The statement is by no means clear: the 'Historie of Oxford' here mentioned is the *Historiola* apparently of the date of Edward III; the passage follows the fables about the Trojans and Brutus. About the historical value of this document, consult Mr. Parker's *Early Oxford*, p. 11; and in favour of the ford, where Grandpont Bridge now is, being *the* ford in question, consult pp. 120, 121 of the same work. His conclusions seem so well-founded that it would be almost a waste of time to discuss other fords such as those at Binsey, Parson's Pleasure, and near Bulstake. It is scarcely worth while to inform the reader that the Welsh names here bestowed on Oxnaford are poor inventions of Rous or of Geoffry of Monmouth, and first occur late in the fifteenth century. [For these Myths, see Hutten in *Pl.* pp. 37-41.]

'Passing along the Cawsy, wee see noething, on either hand, saveing onely spatious Meadowes, devided by the severall Streames of the River, which runn under the fore-

¹ v. Ogle's *Royal Letters*, p. 255.

named Arches, (P. 108) and when wee come somewhat neare the Towne, two severall Farmes, the one on the left Hand belonging unto Brasenose, the other on the right belonging unto University Colledge, and betweene both a litle House, called the Archdeacon of Barksheire his Court.'

The name Abingdon Road had not then been given, and the road as far as Lake Street, at least, passed as the Cawsy. The Wick, or better Eastwyke House, lies just south of the stream which runs into the Thames above the University boathouse: it has an embanked road on the north and a small brook on the side towards the main road. A John de la Wyke occurs in 1377 (Tw. 23, p. 530). He then enfeoffed John de Northampton the Towne-Clerke, Walter de Clyve the Mayor's sergeant and others, of his lands tenements &c. in Oxford and its suburbs, among which were Saucer Hall and a rent from Water Hall. But there had been an earlier agreement between these parties in the same year, *regnante Edw. III*, whereby John de Northampton of Oxford, Towne Clerke, and Walter de Clyve of Oxford gave and demised to Walter Dauteseye all their lands and tenements at La Wyke in the county of Berks, with meadows, pasturage, waters and fish-rights, with all things whatsoever belonging to or regarding the said lands and tenements, on each side of the great bridge of Oxford, which they lately had by the gift and feoffment of John de la Wyke &c. Dated at La Wyke, 22 May, 51 Edw. III. Dauteseye is termed elsewhere 'Dominus' of the Wyke, which perhaps means nothing more than master or owner, for no manorial rights seem to belong to it. In 1393 or 1394, 17 Ric. II (Tw. 23, p. 391), Walter Crook fishmonger of Oxford sold to Walter Daundesey dominus of the Wyke near Oxford all that place of Swyneshull near Oxford in County Berks with lands, meadows, pastures, fishing-rights, pools and all other pertinencies. The companion house West or New Wyke has not been observed in any map, and now that New Hincksey has grown up on the west side of the road, the probable site of the house has been covered with new buildings. Twyne would make it to be opposite Chapel Place: others are content to seek it at the Old White House, which belongs to Brasenose College, part of Swineshull Farm, or Swinfell, as it is called in the 1726 map, published in Mr. Mowat's series. The farm is thus mentioned in 1512 (V. p. 295, taken from the Brasenose Leiger Book) — 'Richard Crowlesmere and others demise to William Franklyn their

messuage in Swynshall, Co. Berks . . . with all lands pastures and commons which they have in Westwyke, Spreakellsyeit, Sandhull &c.' Sandels, as in the map just named, was an estate on the site of the present Water-lakes, and we should therefore, in looking for Westwyke, not come too near to Folly Bridge or the Abingdon Road.

The meadow to the right, i. e. between the road and the Thames, is Cowmead, and sliced out of its west side next to our road is a small enclosure with a few houses upon it, known pretty generally for some years as Chapel Close: to this Wood (*City*, i. 425) refers thus,—‘where a little cottage stood till the beginning of the warr, at what time a rag-man lived there, is called Chappel Hous, and the rick-yard opposite belongs to the towne.’ The earliest document about it is one quoted by Twyne (23, p. 167), probably still to be found among the City documents:—William the Northerne Maior of Oxford and the commonalty thereof lease to John Leper a place (placea) of land near Coumede in county Berks called Briggeswrightes place facing the chapel of St. Nicholas, for a rent of 12*d.* at the four principal terms, and the said John will maintain, repair, and sustain the bridge of Grauntpont both within the new gate and without by means of the alms to be begged for the same and at his own costs during his life. And the said place and the houses built or to be built in it he will keep without waste or destruction: if John fails in one of these points it shall be lawful for the City to re-enter. Dated 20 Jan. 1376-7. To this Twyne adds, ‘In a writing annexed to it the place is called—“in Swyneshull” and “S. Nicholas yarde facing the chapel of St. Nicholas.”’ The words *near* Coumede (not within), and *facing* (not annexed), coupled with the general tenor of other writings, seem to place the chapel on the east and the place of the Bridgewright on the west—the latter had become a rick-yard in Wood’s time. In Wood’s *City* (i. 422) is a series of references to this Briggeswrightes place, but in no one of them has the correct title, in its majestic twenty letters, been adhered to. The chapel stood till 1579, for a City lease-book (Tw. 23, p. 597) states that ‘William Barton hath the lease of a certaine piece of ground by the chappell at Southbridge.’ The chapel had probably been put to secular uses before the time of our author, and it would not continue to be a court-house after 1581, as will be seen in speaking of Friar Bacon’s Study. A lease of the year 1402, when Walter Sprunt was Mayor and our friend Dautesey and Thomas Coventry were bailiffs, shows that this ‘chapel of St. Nicholas’ was ‘commonly called the Hermitage.’ Its

position was very central for the repair, if not of the entire half-mile, at least of that part which longest retained the name Causey, and this was the great duty which devolved on the lessee (Tw. 23, p. 392). The City Accounts for the years 1363, 1364, 1366, and 1392 specify payments to the Heremit or Eremite for doing repairs. The poetry of the name has vanished. The man so called is simply a carpenter who lived alone. His house was perhaps not his own, for in 1392 (City Accounts, Tw. 23, p. 239), there was paid to the Abbot of Abingdon, From a rent, for the hermit's house upon Graunpoint¹, 8*d.*: and in 1400 (*ibid.*), From the Chapel of St. Nicholas upon Grauntpont and from the hermitage there 12*d.* There is in the Abingdon Chronicle (i. p. 88) a narrative of the method taken to decide whether the long strip of meadow south of Kennington Island, extending from the island to Sandford Lasher, and called Berymead, belonged to Berkshire or to Oxfordshire. A candle mounted on a circular piece of wood, by floating down the western branch, decided in favour of Berkshire. The candle is said to have started on its journey from their 'church.' If the word *ecclesia* stands by any chance for *capella*, we seem to have in this Chapel of St. Nicholas a reasonable starting place for the candle. There would then be no need of a five or six miles' journey floating upward against the stream. The consecration and prayers could take place in the chapel: the candle could be started from the stream near the Wyke House, and could then float about a mile *down* the stream in a non-miraculous manner.

In the Brasenose map Miller's Mead is opposite to the south part of Cow Mead: the Laines, an irregular plot of land, lies opposite to Chapel Close, and extends up to the Old White House Lane; behind this is Breeze's Ground; and well behind is the White House, and reaching up to the county boundary, there a double ditch, is Welchman's Mead.

As the Thames is approached, eyts, eyots, or aits, otherwise hams, begin to abound. Taking some of the documents about them in order of their dates, an attempt can be made to distinguish them. They all lie somewhere between the south end of Grampoole and the Causey, being named (Tw. 23) as follows:—

¹ The name 'Grandpont,' applied to boundaries of estates in Berks, should cause the reader to forget the narrow limit of the modern Grandpont Bridge.

p. 270. 1345.	p. 423. 1351.	p. 306. 1361.	p. 192. c. 1400.	p. 392. 1447.	p. 436. 1611.
Irland	Goldsmiths ¹	Irlande	Irlonde	Erlyches eyte	Ewster's
Aylriches eyt		Alrichesyte	Wykemead	Spitons eyte	ham
Swyneshull		Swynshull	Doazeit	Salode-	Bachylers
			Davidonzeit	hythege	ham
			Pickedeyt	near Cow-	
			Turneyt	mede	
			Fullingmill eyt		
			Sherweyt near		
			Cowmead		
			Wicheton and		
			Frocmore		

In 1351, as is not unusual, the three are grouped under their common owner's name, as 'Goldsmiths.' In the 1400 series we seem to have a somewhat loose arrangement, following water-rights rather than land. It is clear that Fullingmill-eyt near Osney should not stand next to an eyt near Cowmead, unless, as is possible, the mill called Einsham, which often figures in views of Friar Bacon's Study, may be intended. Of the above names, Ireland can be safely assigned to the meadow touching Preacher's Pool, since, though the name was afterwards applied to the large island west of the Bridge in which the pool was cut, it was still current in the seventeenth and even in the eighteenth century, and even now stands in the overseer's books. Swineshull has been already noticed as south of Ireland. Erliches-eyt can be pretty well guessed at from the Bodleian Charter 133*, which says that the boundaries of the liberty of the town of Oxford follow a ditch running under an arch called Dench-worthes-bowe and thus along the Thames between the Friars preachers who are within the said town, and a meadow called Erliches-eyt, and the meadow of the Abbey of Abingdon, &c. The latter of these is Ireland Meadow, the most northerly of those to the west of Grand-pont bridge, now cut through by the artificial pool; the former has virtually disappeared, being merged into Ireland Mead, or attached to the north bank. Agas shows us two elongated sand-banks in the middle of the stream, probably incipient hams, soon to be united severally to the northern and southern bank, thus converting this, the widest arm, into the insignificant brook of our fathers' days. Other maps show various islands commencing at the west end of the arm, but they are small and nameless. As the gravel of Oxford is of a very loose and shifting character—'shuff' is the local epithet implying this lack of coherence—many alterations have taken place

¹ Cf. V. 18, 295.

in the river bed both here and at Rewley. Even since the date of the Brasenose map of 1726, we can detect great changes round Folly Bridge. In those days, as in Agas's, the stream from Preacher's Pool was divided, the greater mass of the water going straight onwards easterly, while the rest was deflected southward. The first of these divisions maintained its full width along the course of the Shire-brook, now filled up, towards Denchworth arch¹, until within about fifty yards of St. Aldate's Street (Grampoole), where now is Thames Street. It then turned south-east and crossed the main road between the Turnpike House and the tall boat-factory, so parting off a piece of land which answers in position to the Erliches-eyt in three of the above lists.

Some have thought that Erliches-eyt was further west, near the bathing-place, but this theory would separate it too widely from the Bow named just before it. It is not Erliches-eyt which Twyne (23, p. 392) places near Cow Mede, but some other place or places. He speaks of 'Cowmede in Co. Berks' (p. 18 above): of the fourth part of Erlyches-eyte, and a pesula called Spytonseyte and Strodeys of Salodehythye near Cowmede in Co. Berks, &c. Compared with the northern stream, the four or five others were less important; it was by the northern stream only that the traffic up the river was carried on. Towards the south end of the present approach to the bridge there was one more stream passing from the meadows under the archways over the field which the 1726 map calls the 'Strip by the Causey.'

P. 108. 'And, lastly, att the Entrance into the Towne, that Tower which standeth upon the Bridge, like a Pharos or Watch Tower, is commonly called by the name of Frier Bacon's Study, not that it was soe indeed, neither can I learne anie other reason of that name ascribed thereunto, then what is delivered by old Tradition, *vizt.* that that being a remote place, and farr enough from Companie, Fryer Bacon (knowne to bee a great Astronomer) did, perhapps, some tymes use, in the night season, to ascend thither to take the Altitude and Distance of the Starrs. This maie bee the more likely, because hee was a Franciscan Frier, and his Chamber not farr of.'

¹ Hence it was not carelessness which made Agas draw his Shire ditch so very wide.

The lease of 1611, noted by Twyne (23, p. 436), and the 1726 map inform us certainly as to the island on which Friar Bacon's Study was erected, though the gateway appears under another name. Twyne's words are these: 'In a great booke of counterpart of leases in the Town office fol. 53. a lease made there by the Mayor and Baylives of Oxford to Jo. Smyth, of their tower called Bachelars Tower . . . beinge . . . upon the bridge called Southbridge &c . . . and in another lease, made 9 Jac. Reg. (1611) the same tower under the same name of Bachyler's Tower is demised to Thomas Waltham together with four hammes, one lienge on the east side of the Cawsway called Tower hamme, another lienge on the West side of the Cawsway called Bachelars hamme; the third hamme lieth westwarde from Bachelars hamme and is called Ewster-hamme, the streame or Ryver runninge betweene them: the fourth hamme lieth on the west side of the sayde bridge invironed round about with water.' To this is added a note, most probably in Wood's handwriting: 'Bachelars Tower, that which is called Fryer Bacon's studdy nowe, but before this time I never red it so termed in ancient recorde but only Nova porta and Turris super pontem Australem &c. Mr. Myles Wyndsore gave it the name of Bachelaur's tower, first of all, as ever I could heare and perswaded the Townsmen so to call it.' There is not much evidence by which to decide the naming. We must wait for other information before we can decide whether Bacon, who resided somewhere between the Church of St. Ebbe and Paradise Square, would be at all likely to frequent a tower in that situation when stations equally advantageous abounded close to the Grey-Friars. A score or more of documents regarding the tower justify Wood (*City*, i. 425) in repeating Hutten's opinion that the name of 'Fryer Bacon his Study' is 'meerly traditionall and not in any record to be found.' After discussing the question whether the tradition is to be believed, he seems on the whole to accept it; and he states it almost in Hutten's own words; but then he quietly puts in the margin, 'But I believe all this was at Little Gate.'

Contemporary drawings, of which there are several, represent the Gate on the South Bridge with a semicircular archway, like that of Bocardo, such as might date back, as Wood thinks, 'to Stephen's time,' and with a story built over it of sixteenth or seventeenth century character. Such outlying works at the gates of fortresses and cities, as well as at the ends of bridges, were not unusual even as early as the date of Bacon's death, 1292. The most

probable view is that this is the 'New Gate' erected in the fourteenth century on an earlier pattern, to strengthen the old southern Gate near to Christ Church: and it is remarkable that Agas names both of them South Gate¹. The City Records (Tw. 23, p. 233) of the year 1362 mention payment 'for 1 bolt, 1 key, 2 staples, and 1 haspe for the new gate of the town, 9*d.*' Next year 'mending of new gate 4*s.* 9½': beside this, in the same year, 'mending new gate 4*s.* 9*d.*'; again '3*s.* 4*d.*': all under the heading of necessary expenses. Twyne observes upon this, that there are two expenses in one year in repairs at Southbridge and New Gate—this gate being what is commonly called the Museum (studium) of Brother Roger Bacon. The auditor of these accounts was the renowned John de Bedeford² of Swindlestock fame. In 1390 (*ibid.* p. 239), after several entries for trenching and walling, there follow: for a stone outside new gate 5*d.*: for watchmen at the gates of the town 16*d.*: also for another watchman 5*d.*: for the making of an arch at Southbridge 6*d.* Then, ten years later (*ibid.* p. 240), Expenses incurred regarding the prisoners captured for rebellion made against the King; in bread and beer and meat 5*s.* 3*d.* Item at the same time, in watch kept at the gildhall for the safe custody of the same traitors, in fires and wine 2*s.* 7*d.*: immediately after Epiphany—Also in expenses of carrying the corpses of the traitors who were dead, towards London, viz. the head of the Earl of Kent, the head of the Earl of Salisbury, the four quarters of Sir Thomas Blount Knt. and his head, the head of Ralph Lumley Knt. banneret with the four quarters of the same, the head of Sir Benedict Sely Knt. with the four quarters of the same, the heads and quarters of John Walsh and Baldwin of Kent and very many more Esquires, 50*s.* All these were punished with death at Greneditch.

The language of legal documents preserves, at least as late as the days of Elizabeth, the notion of the importance of the military defences of the City. By a lease dated 1565 (Tw. 23, p. 591) 'Mr Dr White <was> to have the Tower upon the Southbridge with these covenants. First, that no tenant shall dwell therein, but to be used only for the use of the Archdeacon's court, that the Mayor and Bailiffs shall have free passage to and fro in the same way as they were wonte to have: to have free ingresse and regresse into the same tower at all

¹ This is noticed by Hearne in his vol. 166, p. 6, where he began to write his notes on Agas. Unfortunately, these notes reach no further than the page cited.

² Twyne has made a slip here, it should be Bereford; his remark continues, 'so that though they say he was hung, yet he lived till this year.'

times in time of neede and danger for the defence of the City: that he shall finde reparations from time to time: that he shall pay 4*d.* duringe his life and after his decease 2*s.*; to have it four score years and ten.'

There was in 1320, near the tower (Tw. 23, p. 317) or near the bridge, a place called the Wardrobe, whether used for keeping civic robes, or suits of armour we cannot now tell:—John of Staunden le Mustarder held of Geoffrey de Grandpont, by writing enrolled in Court of Oxon a message in the parish of St. Mich. South with curtilage adjoining, and a common pathway leading to the course of the water of Thames and to the Garderobe, with appurtenances, for one year.

ii. Folly Bridge to the City Wall.

A step or two northwards through the gate of the tower on South-bridge brought the traveller on to a bridge occupying a site a little to the north of our modern Folly Bridge over the main stream of the Thames, a river which now and then engaged the civic or royal attention when it became too shallow because of silted gravel, too narrow because of weirs and penstocks, or impassable because of the growth of vegetation. Wood (*City*, i. 429) quotes several of the appeals for a more open stream, but one or two others lie ready to hand and seem worth notice, as they indicate the state of the stream once flowing under Grandpont, while Mr. Clark's note (*ibid.* 431) about early river navigation is worth perusal. In 1301 (Tw. 23, p. 41) a petition was presented to Parliament sitting at Westminster, in the octave of St. John the Baptist. The merchants who traverse the water between London and Oxford are disturbed by gors, by loke, and by mills and many other disturbances, so that neither the king nor his subjects can be served as they ought to be, and as they were in earlier days. They ask for the justices to survey and inquire into these disturbances. It will be found, they say, in your Domesday the manner in which the water of Tamise ought to be without disturbance, and gentlemen now stop and destroy the fry of the fish to the depoverishing of the people. It is indorsed: 'William de Berford and the Lord Robert of Hegham, Justices, were deputed to this.' In 1347 (Tw. 23, p. 51), the Commons pray the King that whereas the four main rivers of England, the Thamise, Tynen, Ouse and Trent have of old been open and passable by all people with merchandize, to the profit of the realm, but of late have

become so stopped by goors, mills, piles and pales by every lord within the boundary of his manor that they have become impassable in divers places, they ask for an inquiry by the Justices in each district and to take away the oppressions. Commissions are appointed and the matter to be pleaded. In 1423 (*ibid.* p. 384), the jury of the north-west ward present that John Thommys of Bynsey has made a stacking in Thames water at Crepuleyt to the damage &c.:—that the Prior of the Preachers Brothers has taken sprittis and welys in the Thames water of John Hickis, against the peace &c.; therefore it was ordered &c. . . . After each of these accusations stand the words ‘therefore he is in misericordia (at the mercy of the court).’ In the same year (*ibid.* p. 383) the same jury present among other things that the Abbot of Rewley has broken the bank of the river Thames to the damage &c. In 1582 (*ibid.* p. 599) an ordinance passed the Common Council ‘against the poore spoylinge the Queene’s water near this City’ 24 Eliz. In the petitions relating to Oxford, No. 40 (*Oxf. Hist. Soc.* xxxii. p. 108), the gors are mentioned as a nuisance to navigation, and in No. 91, also of the time of Edward I or II (*ibid.* p. 138), occur complaints about the gortz and the owners of the gortz—merchants are delayed for two or three days until they make redemption or agreement. And lastly, in 1586 (*Tw.* 23, p. 605), ‘That the weeds in the ryver and the Sandbedds and Flagebedds downward from the Castle Mylls to Chilswell poole and upward from the sayd Mylls up to the stone beneath Godstowe bridge the Ryver shalbe moven at the City charges—Overseers appointed.’

P. 109. ‘from whence commeing over the great Bridge wee passe by Houses on each side, ’till wee come to a litle Bridge, which is the limitt, distinguishing Oxfordsheire from Barksheire, haveing a small Streame running under it into the water of Trilmilbo, whose Course before of old was not to fall into Isis, as now it doth, but into Charuell through the midst of Ch. Ch. Meadow.’

The houses here mentioned are often described in an unexpected manner; those west of Grampoole are said to have the Water of Thames as a west boundary, and those east of it as having the same water as their west boundary. This specially applies to strips of Christ Church land some distance up the present St. Aldate’s, on the east side.

The Bridge, of which there is, in the Oxford Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, a valuable model, to scale, in cork, and in the Bodleian several good drawings by Nattes (*c.* 1808), was of three arches of a low pitch, but pointed, the two largest openings through it not being directly across the road, but almost at an angle of 45° , to suit the direction of the early stream. There was at the time of its destruction so little left of the old work, that it would be scarcely safe to call it a fifteenth-century structure. Its piers, originally projecting with ends, like the bows of boats, up and down the stream, had been used as imposts sometimes for a single, sometimes for a double range of arches above them, of a wider span and thinner work, yet strong enough to support a paved way or foot-pavement. All this shows how very narrow the original must have been, how very inferior to the Abingdon Bridge a few miles lower, over the same river on the same road. Here and there can be seen in the drawings and model, a central arch with round head, looking like patchwork of the sixteenth century, a time when so much work was carried out farther south on this road. With regard to the antiquity of the old bridge, or to the period when the ford was superseded, we are without information. There would probably be the usual succession—(1) a ford, as many as five fords, for use when the water was low, and a ferry of some sort when it was higher; (2) a timber bridge for foot-passengers; (3) the same made stronger for pack-horses; (4) a stone bridge for wheeled vehicles; so that it may not be possible to assign a definite date to the last change. It should not be forgotten also that for centuries rivers were the high-roads of communication. Wood, clearly following Twyne, boldly ascribes the Grandpont (*City*, i. 419) to Robert D'Oilly, quoting in full the fearful dream (Abingdon Chron., Rolls Series, ii. p. 12), and disregarding the words there used about the bridge, '*at the north district of Oxford,*' when surely the Hythe-Bridge not far off the Castle (*juxta* in some documents) would be near enough to the north for an early chronicler. Besides, it is reasonable to suppose that, if D'Oilly had conferred so great a favour on the two towns, some definite reference would have been made to his gift. The bridge was wholly in Berkshire, so that we must not expect our City records to supply much about it. There is in the Abingdon Chronicle a statement that makes the bridge date as far back as the twelfth century. From the Eynsham records, Twyne (23, p. 413) supplies us, through Nicholas Bishop's collection, with

information taken from 'a Register of the Charters of Tenements and Rents in the Borough of Oxford bestowed upon the Church of Eynsham.' This records that the Lord Almarus Earl of Cornwall gave to Eynsham Abbey his court in Oxon in which was situated the Church of St. Ebba with certain other rents belonging to the same court. Also two meadows near South Gate, which meadows Columban the Abbot had given to Nigel d'Oily with two mills situated near the same South Bridge on its west side. Then follows a charter of Henry the First, dated Christmas 1109, restoring the possessions of the Abbey.

In 1467 (Tw. 23, p. 537) we meet with a legacy for the repairing of this bridge: John Tamworth, Burgess of Oxon 1467, directs his executor to lay out 13s. 4d. on South Bridge, and 13s. 4d. upon East Bridge upon a certain way which leads to Hedyngton &c. Tamworth's house must have been somewhere in the neighbourhood, as his messuage had one head abutting on Thames towards the south: but such a statement leaves a wide margin for conjecture, as Trill Mill stream, and two or three other confluent of the river, passed under the name of *Thames Water*. Among the souls of those (Tw. 23, p. 185) for whom the burgesses must pray annually on the day of the election of officers was Thomas Baylly (died c. 1443), lately Mayor of this town, who held the maior's office for four years in succession and died in the fourth, leaving to the community of the Town of Oxford a certain cloak of scarlet, furred, worth five marks, and 60s. for the mending of the Bridges of Oxford. William Morwent (V. p. 613), the successor of Claymond as President of Corpus, left by his will, proved Jan. 20, 1558-9, to the reparation of South Bridge £10, to Botley way £5. In 1580 (Tw. 23, p. 598), 'Alderman Hartley chosen mayor <was> to pay 40s. towarde the repayringe of the bridges about the City for the discharge of kepinge his Alderman's dinner': and 'Three pounds, fine, inflicted on Henry Dodwell, for certain words spoken out at the Choice of the Mayor, were to be applied to the reparations of the said bridges about the City.' In 1582, July 19 (Tw. 23, p. 598, Council Bk. A), 'It is agreed at this councell that the foundation of the South Bridge so farre as belongeth to this citty shalbe repaved and amended with convenient speede at the charge of this citty.' In 1584 (ibid. p. 601), it was ordered that Southbridge from Mr. Smythe's house unto the tower be enlarged with tymber work and rayled on every side. The City to pay half costs; Mr. Dr. Lloyd the proposer of the motion

promised to discharge the other moiety. Next year (*ibid.* p. 603) Southbridge to be enlarged and rayled from where the worke was left, unto the pale of Mr. John Smith's backside and further if need be, at the chardges of Mr. Dr. Lloyde for the one half and of the City the other, Mr. Lloyde offering to pay his half beforehand. The model in the Ashmolean is of about the year 1815, when the bridge was condemned; it shows but three arches. Temporary bridges were then erected till 1825. When the present bridge was built, Stump Pool and much of the island which we identify with Erlicheseyt, but which was then called Ireland Meadow, disappeared; the water had a readier course provided for it under the wider arches of Folly Bridge; an embanked approach of some length filled up more than sixty yards of the old river course on the north, and Shire-ditch soon began to fill up. Finally (*c.* 1892) the island, though still part of Hincksey parish, was joined to the City by making Shire-ditch into a sewer, as had been already done, previous to 1850, with so much of it as ran on the east side of the street. The arch or bow by which the Shire-ditch crossed St. Aldate's or Grampoole, and called Denchworthbow, has been invisible for some years. A bit of walling, with a pillar-box inserted, marks the western limit, and a small Inn, the Waterman's Arms, No. 34 St. Aldate's, which still preserves a small blocked-up window once overlooking a purling stream, marks the eastern. The connexion of the name of the bow with the Danes (*City*, i. 416) may fairly be classed, in these days, as imaginary; and the existence of a Dantesbourne Church near the bridge rests on a reference to a document in the Godstow Cartulary (*City*, ii. 47), which has not yet been discovered.

P. 109. '(Ch. Ch. Meadow,) which though it be now one, yet, in former tymes, was two, the farther part, next unto Isis, belonging unto the Citty of Oxford, and called the Towne Meade, and the higher parte, next to Friswide's, belonging now to Ch. Ch. and of old called Friswide's Meade, but, in the daies of King Edward the. 6th. the Deane and Chapter, haveing then an annuall Markett, or Fare, usually kept about St. Friswide's daie in the Quadrangle, and on that Foundation did exchange it with the Towne, for their parte of the foresaid Meadow, (P. 110) and daming upp the old Channell that ran into Charwell, continued the two Meadowes into one. In memory whereof,

there are yet, att this daie, certaine Meere Stones sett in a Meadow, according to the course of the Streame, beeing yet to be perceived is to this daie called by the name of Sherelake.’

This digression of Hutten is perhaps the best and clearest description of the two meadows which form the large Christ Church Meadow, but its accuracy is questionable. Shire-ditch, as we have seen, went from Denchworthbow into that part of the Trill Mill stream which runs south, and has been concealed since the great drainage scheme was carried out. The shire boundary went a few yards up the stream, and then met a wider rivulet, almost a lake, as its name and the low ground there seem to indicate, which, cutting the great meadow into two parts and running eastward, finally opened into the Cherwell river. The name Shirelake has not yet gone out of use.

Our author will not bring us back to these meadows south of Christ Church and Merton, so it will not be out of place to consider them here, commencing with the strip on the south, next to the Thames, formerly an island. There can be very little doubt that this strip, once of meadow land, now well wooded, was named **Spicer’s Eyt** in early days. Wood (*City*, i. 462) refers to a note of Twyne’s (23, p. 264), to the effect that Spicer’s Mead or Spicer’s Eyte was outside South Gate and near Grandpont. In 1368 (V. p. 268) we have an extract from a New College document:—‘John de Hertwell of Oxon and William Saundford of Oxon doe demise to John Kiteby an isle called le chaas eyt and an acre of mede lying between the mede called Mountegues mede (on one side) and the streame of Thames on the other.’ The acre, &c., must refer to part of the long strip in question, or even to the whole of it in those days. Again, in 1416 (V. p. 265), John Spycer son of John Spycer of Oxon gives and grants to the said John Spycer the father, to Mr. Edm. Wareham, to Mr. Thomas Plymesrood and others, *inter alia*, an island lying between a meadow called Cowmede on one part and the meadow called Mountague’s mede on the other. This is still more definite, though no mention is made of the river. Lastly, in 1447 (Tw. 23, p. 392, In fasciculo chartarum de insulis et aquis circa Oxon), John Hyde¹ Burgess of Oxon leases to Walter Wynhale, Dr. in Theology, Prior of the Friars Preachers, the fourth part of Erlycheseyte and an extension (pesulam) called Spytonseyte (perhaps Spycerseyte)

¹ Not *Lyde*, as in *City*, i. 462.

with a meadow in the same with all belongings, rushes growing, and Strodeys and Salodehythyge near Cowmede in county Berks for five years, paying* a red rose on the feast of S. John Baptist. Here it is mentioned next to Erlycheseyte, also on the north side of the Thames, unless some error has been made about the situation of the former. Salodehythyge seems like a word compounded of Sallow and Hythe, and perhaps -ge may be part of eaga (or eye).

Next comes **St. Frideswyde's Mede**, Stockwell or Montague's. The Cartulary of St. Frideswyde (*Wi.* 690) is rubricated as the charter of Elizabeth of Montacute touching the meadow called Stokwellemede in the County of Berks granted for the foundation of a chantry: and witnesses that Elizabeth once wife of Sir William of Montacute, Knt., by licence of Edward III, gave to St. Frideswyde's forty-six acres of meadow with their appurtenances, called Stokwellemede, lying below the Priory, in the county of Berks, between the Prior's meadow on the north and the stream of the water of Thames on the south, for two chantries. The words 'in Berkshire' show that the south half of the meadow is the part spoken of, and Presthey, to the north of it, was Priory land. The charters (*V.* pp. 268, 265) above quoted confirm this position. Next in order of date comes a presentment of the south-west ward (*Tw.* 23, p. 384) complaining that the Prior of St. Frideswyde has stopped the King's way between Montague's mede and the meadow of St. Frideswyde.

Presthey comes next. It has been already mentioned above as belonging to St. Frideswyde. A presentment, whose date is put down by Twyne as of Henry the Sixth's time (*Tw.* 23, p. 454), 'Also there is a diche called shirelake ligginge betwixt Stokwellmede and the Presthaye forstopped in nusomnis of our Common Wey of our franchise in grete avayle to the prior of St. Friswyde,' i. e. closed to the prejudice of the City rights, and of value to the Prior. Above the word 'diche,' in the original, stands a small *xii^d*, to show how much the damage was assessed at. Not quite so explicit is an earlier document of 1139 (*Wi.* 13), by which Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, declares 'I have returned for my soul's good to the Church, Prior &c., of St. Frideswyde whatever I had taken away unjustly, the meadow which is called Prestent and the mill and Bishopsmore and the land which is in front of the Grange and the land on which the Grange is and the lands called "of the Altar of St. Frideswyde"; also I return to them a fair in Oxford and its suburbs &c.' The order

here seems important—Presthey, Trill Mill, Bishopsmore (of which below), the land near the Grange, and lastly a term which may be intended to include the whole of the divisions named. The domains already mentioned extend up to the double brook which for many years skirted the path, or avenue of trees, shown in our Map, and now called the Broad Walk.

There is some evidence, though not very strong, that the upper meadow of St. Frideswyde, often called Merton Fields, was once named **Bishopsmore**. The last document quoted points decidedly in this direction; and another of about 1125 (*Wi.* 8), a confirmation charter of Pope Honorius II, endorsed as ‘touching the said possessions and others,’ recites, ‘The land which is called the Altar of St. Frideswyde the mill upon South Bridge and the estate which is called Bishopsmore,’ and as included in the Castle limits, the land in front of the Grange. Trill Mill appears to have been sufficiently near to the Southbridge, when taken, according to the Godstow Cartulary, in the wide acceptation of the name Suthbruggestrete. A third charter (*Wi.* 52) says that Stephen the son of Henry the son of Simeon gave to God and St. Frideswyde’s one acre and a half in Bissopesmede. Wood (*City*, i. 293, 402, 454) places this land at Parys Meadow, roughly the Physic Garden, and again at Grandpont; elsewhere (*C.* 2. p. 17), speaking of the acre and a half in Bissopesmede, he says, quoting from the larger Register of St. Frideswyde at Christ Church: ‘so is the rubric. Which Bishopmede was neare certainly to their monastery because it is amongst the charters of their fayr, either it was that called Cowly mede (next south of Milham, commonly called Long-Meadow) or part of Yfeli mede. It was soe called from Rog(er), Bishop of Sarum who took it away among other lands when he took away St. Frideswide Priory¹.’

St. Frideswyde’s Priory and its successors have been shown to be holders of all this property except the strip by the river, Spycer’s eyte, and it is this last which Hutten says they received in exchange for a fair, which, however valuable in former days, was probably becoming a privilege of less and less value in the days of Edward VI. ‘This notion of Hutten’s,’ writes Mr. C. Moore, ‘of an exchange of Town Mead for Frideswide’s Fair, has no foundation. In an Indenture

¹ It would seem that the note (*c*) in *City*, i. 295 (‘the house of Alexander Shaftesbury then Bishop’s Mede’) is merely jotted down to show the order in which Wood intended to take three places—Rose Lane, Shaftesbury’s House, and the meadow in question.

tripartite, dated July 4, 3 Edward VI, between the King, the Executors of Henry VIII's will, and the Mayor and Burgesses, it is recited that the City had paid the late King £75 for the Fair, to be held in Guildhall or elsewhere, but that the grant had not passed the Great Seal of Henry VIII: it is covenanted that all proper steps be taken to vest the Fair in the City. The Fair is stated to be a part of the possessions of the Crown. One part of the Indenture bears the sign manual of Edward VI and the Great Seal, the other the sign manual, the Great Seal, and the signatures of the Executors, including Cranmer. Following these is a Licence, dated July 22, under the Great Seal, to hold the Fair. This must be accepted as contradicting the exchange, but how the confusion arose in Hutten's mind, cannot be now explained.' The meadow, now often called Merton Fields, once went by the name of St. Frideswyde's Grove, and afterwards of the Tymberyard, if we may trust a note added by some one to Twyne's MS. (23, p. 765). In it also stood a wayside chapel to the Virgin, in connexion with which Wood narrates the adventure of the poor priest, for which see *City*, ii. 501.

P. 110. 'From this litle Bridge wee come into the Suburbs of Oxford, commonly called Grampoole, not that it is soe now, but that it was soe heretofore, before the Ground was drayned, by the division of Trilmilbo Streame into .2. the new Course running behind the Houses of this Streete on the West side, and parting them from the Preaching Friers, 'till it come to the forementioned Bridge, and the old Streame houlding his Course by Ch. Ch. Saw Pitt, and behind the Houses of the East side of the same Streete, and soe meeting with his Fellow runn both together into Isis over the old Streame.'

Our excursion into Christ Church Meadows is ended, and we return to our journey up Saint Aldate's towards the City wall and across a low-lying piece of ground, not indeed one of those 'streams of great depth flowing around on every side,' as described in the *Gesta Stephani*, but in early times almost a lake or a broad expanse of marshy land, with an embanked road reaching from the river to the City gate. Trill Mill stream, we learn from the above passage, had lately (say 1610) been divided, so that the ridge up which we travel has a branch of it on each side, an eastern one, old, and probably

feeding two mills on its way along the western margin of Christ Church Meadow, and a western one newly made to drain the west side of the road. The latter ran along the border-line of the parishes of St. Aldate's and St. Ebbe's. A cross in the stone wall north of Rose Place indicates that here the boundary turns off due south. From this point it follows a tolerably straight course till it meets the Shire-ditch. When Hoggar drew his map, 1850, the southern half of this stream was still an open ditch. No traces can be found now. There is not even a boundary-cross visible. Hutten's words imply that the entire district was once a pool of water, and this statement may be easily credited. There are in some portions of this district ten or twelve feet of black earth, rather peaty in character, and seemingly mixed with vegetable mould, very like the deposit of a pool or sluggish stream. The floods of the Oxford valley would have left either gravel, or the red loam which caps the site of the city, but here the red colour is altogether wanting. At one point, at the south-east angle of the Choir School of Christ Church, a brook was lately discovered twelve or thirteen feet deep, still flowing among the undecayed roots of trees, apparently alder trees, thus proving that great changes in the levels of that district had taken place within the space of a few centuries. No trace of the fosse under the City Wall, where it runs along Brewer Street, has been noted by any writer. There seems to have been a road there from the earliest times, so that two questions arise, first, whether the name King Street, as applied to this road, means more than the King's highway, and secondly, whether Trill Mill stream may not at one time have served as the fosse on that side of the town, the intervening ground being of such a marshy character that no other fosse was wanted.

The locality once occupied by the Preaching or Black Friars has been fairly well verified. Their mill, or a sluice belonging to it, was uncovered at the west end of Rose Place about the year 1858, when Trill Mill stream was covered up. An ancient house, almost at the junction of Littlegate Street with Friars' Street, and close to the Baptist chapel there, is connected by tradition with the gardener's house in Treadwell's Gardens, and these occupied the site of the Friars. For many years, even after 1829 or 1830, when the chapel was built, there was a tan-yard to the north-west of it, from which old curiosities were now and then dug¹. Lastly, from the Baptist chapel here,

¹ In 1644 or thereabouts (Wood's *Life*, i. 112) 'there was a heart dug out at the Preaching Friaries, Oxon. It was closid in lead as bigg as the bole

and from Albert Street near it, have been unearthed some stone coffins lying east and west, showing the site to have been the cemetery of the Friars. The range of buildings shown by Agas would have formed one angle of a quadrangle, opposite to which would have been the chapel, always to be found near the cemetery. That some of these coffins were under the Baptist chapel is well known, and Mr. Frederick King, who gave much of his leisure to such studies, makes the matter very clear in a letter written in April, 1894: 'I well remember this (the chapel) being built, and when the foundations were dug seeing several stone coffins and broken portions of some others . . . (It was) built, I should say, about 1829 to 1831.' His plan accompanying the letter shows two coffins on the north-west quarter of the chapel, and fragments of other coffins on the north-east quarter. The stone coffin dug from Albert Street was found in a line with the chapel, and not forty yards east of it.

The 'fellow' stream here clearly means that by Christ Church Meadow, but the maps seem to contradict Hutten on this point, for they all make the two streams take separate and parallel courses into the river. Somewhere at their junction with the Thames (but Wood defines the locality as on the eastern side) was Lombard's Land, not to be confused with Lombard's Lane, now Brewer Street, though both localities were at different periods given up to slaughter-houses. This Lombard's or **Lombard's Land** figures rather often in the history of the City as a kind of every-man's-land, a place of deposit for all rubbish; and as it was not far from Fish Street and Slaying Lane, the whole neighbourhood must have had an unsavoury character. In 1341 (Tw. 23, p. 157), among the presentments of the south-west ward (not south-east, as one would be led to expect; but such errors occasionally occur in the City deeds), the jury say that the common ground at Lambardesland is blocked up and obstructed with osiers and dung put there by John Wotton to the grievous injury of the inhabitants &c. About 1490 (ibid. p. 468) is a presentment of several persons for laying loggell, i. e. rubbish, at Lambardesland. The Register of Convocation in 1511 (Wood, D. 3, p. 166) issued orders against the noisome stinks and carrion at Lumbard land. It would seem that the evil had been patiently endured, in true medieval fashion, for more than a hundred and fifty years. In

of a man's hatt. It was carried to the King lying then (at) Christ Church; and when it was opened the heart looked as fresh as if it had been buried but a weeke.'

1530 (ibid. 179), the Prior of the Friars Preachers and Mr. (the Reverend) Thomas Johnson of Broadgates complain of several Butchers that kill Cattle and make annusance to their habitations. This **Broadgates** stood on the west of Grampoole, about halfway between the bow over Trill Mill and that called Denchworth. By the year 1536 the City had been awakened to a sense of the danger of neglecting sanitary matters, and ordered (Tw. 23, p. 585) 'a slaughter house to be built by the Oxford bochers upon the voyde ground called Lambarde landes, by South bridge: and that bochers nowe having slaughter houses in the lane shall void and kyll no more ware there in the said houses by the feast of Easter next ensuinge.' These, it will be noticed, point to a nuisance on the east side; and from notes taken at the time of the drainage scheme, it was clear that the southern half of the Trill Mill stream, which was on the east side of this spot, had been for many years a place of deposit for bones and horns of oxen, leg-bones of sheep, some of deer, reducing the width of the stream from fifteen feet to about six.

The name **Grampoole**, as applied to this suburb, has not been met with before 1470, but an early grant to the Black Friars, in 1376, of land for embanking against the floods, would show that the name was deserved at least a century earlier. The grant runs as follows (Pat. Rolls 1376-7; 50 Edw. III): Know that we bearing in mind the great destructions and losses of the Preachers of Oxford through our stream or water of Thames near the south part of their habitation at Oxford; in order that the said Prior and convent may better defend and preserve their habitation from the attacks of the stream (ripariae) or water aforesaid, have granted and assigned for ourselves and our heirs to the prior and convent, of the said stream or water along the south part of their dwelling, so far as the ground of the same dwelling extends in length towards the south, twenty feet width measured from the same ground to the filum of the said stream or water. Grandpont was another name covering the same region: a house standing in the modern Brewer Street would be described as being in Grandpont.

Lying between Denchworth Bow on the south and Trill Mill on the north, a few places demand our attention. The first is on the west side, and is called **Quarystone Hall**; Wood's references to it are indistinct and not easily followed out. There stands on that side by the edge of the Shire-ditch, an ancient house of squared stone. Again, a house or two on the north side down English Row being

passed, a cottage is seen whose front is mostly built of that ragged stone from Chilswell quarry which Hearne and others have regarded as being a safe test for early Oxford structures. At any rate it is frequent in St. Michael's tower, in the early portions of St. Peter-in-the-East, and it was used for the foundations of one of the earliest churches on the site of St. Martin's. The next house on the same side is a Broadgate, or Broadyate, Hall, whose position can be pretty certainly determined, as Twyne (23, pp. 473-6) has handed down to us some documents about it, collected by Oliver Smyth, a former Mayor of Oxford (*City*, i. 564, note 9), of whom more will be said under Slaying Lane. They are as follows:—In 1343 (p. 476) Thomas Legh of Oxon Towne clerke leases to William of Aldebury, rector of the church of Sekomb, his house with garden adjoining, in the suburbs of Oxford situated in Grantpont between a tenement late of Richard le Cha on one side and a tenement of Eynsham Abbey on the other, to hold to him and his assigns (student scholars excepted) for three years, 24*s.* rent: W. promises to erect a stable for three horses on the premises, covered with straw by Michaelmas next, not to sublet to any scholar-student, not to cut down trees or vines growing there, but to maintain them, but Thomas may come by day on the land for small trees called Syons and to plant for the improvement of the dwelling-house. Next, in 1362 (p. 474), Brother William of Charyngworth, Prior of the House of the Crutched Friars and the Convent thereof, granted to Adam de Shareshull, Knight, a tenement called Brodeyates with two shops set together in the parish of St. Michael South upon Grauntpoint between a certain place of Eynsham Abbey on the north and a tenement of Thomas de Legh on the south; rent a rose at the feast of St. John Baptist. From the charters of St. Frideswyde (*Wi.* 247) we learn that Richard Cary, an illustrious burgess of Oxford, had a tenement here between that once of Thomas de Leghe on the north side, and that of Nicholas de Langford, fisherman, on the south. From other writings of 1369, Twyne (23, p. 473) inferred that Thomas Leye, goldsmith of Oxon, son and heir of Thomas de Leye, held this messuage by Brodyates, by the feoffment of Adam de Shareshull. In 1470 (*ibid.*), William the son of Adam de Shareshull Knt. and of Mariona Flemmynge gave to William Codeshale and to Geoffrey Ludewell, burgesses of Oxford, a tenement called Brodeyates with two shops lying together in St. Michael's Southgate in the suburb upon Grandpont between a tenement of John de Langrish on the

south, and a void place of Eynsham Abbey on the north, granted to him by his father. Lastly, 19 Aug., 12 Hen. VI, Wm. Parker, Richard Bolton, and Percival Thorp, burgesses, granted to John Edgecumb, gentleman, all that garden of theirs lying in the suburbs of Oxon in St. Michael's parish on the west side of Grauntpoint, between the garden of the said John Edgecumb on the east and north, and the garden of a messuage of the Scissors called the Bewhouse on the south, and a stream of water between the house of the Friars Preachers and the said garden on the west, for ever at a rent of 1*d.* per annum. If the position of the Eynsham ground were ascertained, that of three others would be known. To find the position of the abode of the Holy Cross Brethren, it may be as well to take for granted, as Twyne, and Wood following him, have done, that the garden mentioned in the next document is the same as in those previously quoted. It is to this effect—the date being 1377 (p. 475):—Agreement between Thomas Fournays clerk and Robert Bookbinder of Oxford of the one part, and William Witteneye, parson of St. Michael, Southgate, and John Grom of the other, whereby Tho: and Rob: let to farm to Wm: and John a tenement situated upon Grantpoint, between a tenement of S. Frideswyde, on the north and a garden of the said Thos: and Rob: on the south, wherein the Cruched Friars used to dwell, to be held in laymen's fashion for ten years.

On the east side of the street, near this or another tenement of de Legh, stood **St. Frideswyde's Hall**. The cartulary of that Monastery (*Wi.* 248), *c.* 1346, mentions 3*s.* rent which Abingdon has been wont to receive from a hall called Frideswithalle in the parish of St. Michael outside the south gate of Oxford, situated between a tenement of Johanna, once the wife of Thomas Leghe, on the south and the tenement Warcheyn on the north. The next charter (*Wi.* 249) shows clearly that the Hall was on the east side of the street, for the boundary between the garden of the Prior of St. Frideswyde on the north and that of John Spycer the tailor on the south, extended from a wall of earth on the west, unto the Thames on the east fourteen rods and a half in length¹. Warcheyn (inn) was next north of this and on the east side of the street (see the document quoted last but one).

¹ This measurement, counting 5½ yds. to the rod, amounts to 79¾ yds., but counting 18 ft. to the rod or pole, as was sometimes the case, to 84 yds., which agrees pretty well with the length of Sheppard's Row in that locality, allowing for the changed widths of St. Aldate's Street and the stream.

On the west side came **Preachers' Lane**, the lane reaching to the Black Friars; it is now Speedwell Street. The Gate of the Friars Preachers, mentioned below, would probably be at its west end, as we nowhere read of their property extending, on the east, to the King's highway. By a charter made in 1549, and enrolled in the Mayor's Court (the great book of Wills, fol. 182: quoted in Tw. 23, p. 547), John Bolte of Wodeton in the county of Oxford, yeoman, sold to John Barton, butcher, of Oxford a tenement situated outside South Gate in the parish of St. Aldate (between a tenement of All Souls College on the north and another tenement belonging lately to the prioress of Litelmore called Litelmore hall on the south), of which one head abuts upon the Royal way or Street called Grauntpoint, and the other head abuts upon a stream of water running between the ground or wall lately called the Blacke Fryers towards the west and a certain property or land belonging to the said messuage whereon a stable is built; and it extends itself beyond Le **Litlemore Hall** towards the west to a lane (Wood puts in the margin here 'Perhaps Preacher lane') leading outside Grauntpoint to the said course of the river towards the south. This seems to be not so much Preachers' Lane, as a north-and-south arm of it following the 'new' stream. Wood (*City*, ii. 316) puts it thus: 'into which Street <Grandpont> was a common way made from the said isle <in which the Convent was> for the said Fryers' convenience;' and though there is no direct evidence on this point, there is, at the same time, no reason for disbelieving the concurrent testimony of several writers. Such a roadway would lead almost to the middle of the west side of their enclosure, for besides the well known boundary of the Trill Mill stream, there is the above evidence (anno 1549) that the boundary of the Friars reached at least as far north as Littlemore Court. The Gate is mentioned as early as 1352. The will of Durand de Buswell, 1352 (Tw. 23, p. 527, from Great Book of Wills), leaves to Alicia his wife his estate in a messuage situated in St. Michael South Gate, viz. between the tenement of William Spaldynge on the south and the gate of the Friars Preachers on the north.

Next, on the west, is **Maryol Hall** (Mariola or Little Mary), described in Perrott's list as being in St. Michael's parish South (*City*, i. 638). From rent-lists of St. John's Hospital of 1327 and 1331 respectively (V. pp. 233, 236), we gain no information as to position, but in the last it is termed 'Mariol of Littlemore,' which has been considered quite enough to warrant a position near to

Littlemore Hall, indeed it is perhaps a second name for that hall. A third notice, 8 Ric. II (V. p. 242), mentions a rent from the Hall Mariole on the west, which Margaret Underwall holds of the prioress of Littlemore; to which Wood adds a query, whether it means the west side of the street, as he knew that the Magdalen property was to the east and facing Speedwell Street. **Rack Hall**, whose situation seems to have been known to Wood, was opposite to Littlemore Hall. A Balliol College document of 1331 (V. p. 109)—in considering which we must remember that the cutting west of Grampoole was made nearly two hundred years later—records that Robert de Spridlington, Rector of the Church of St. Michael's at South Gate, granted to Henry Standford of Estrop near Heyworth a piece of land upon Great Bridge between a tenement of the Hospital of St. John on the south and a tenement of St. Frideswyde on the north, and extending to Thames water; an endorsement as old as the deed calls it Carta de Rekhall. The property of St. John's Hospital, too, is on the east side of St. Aldate's, clustering around the Wheatsheaf and Anchor, and including the houses at present numbered 15-18. The rent-roll of St. John's Hospital, anno 1328 (V. p. 234), gives the names of three properties thus: In St. Michael South Gate: From house next to Rack 3s.; From Rack 1s.: From Lutlemore House, viz. Margaret Hall, 2s. The last of these seems to be the same as Mariole. A Margaret Underwall, as has been before noted, held a hall near here (see above), and Margaret is the only hall quoted in Standish's list (*City*, i. 636) as being in St. Michael's South. To this account is to be added Wood's personal knowledge (*City*, i. 301): 'It (Rack Hall) is the new house on the south side of Tril mill Hall.'

Crossing the street again we come to Bishop King's house, most probably his residence for a short time only. It is twice so named by Hutten, but cannot be found in our Map. Can Agas possibly have omitted so fine a mansion, or shall we charitably suppose that he felt sure of its demolition when he drew this section? The ceilings, the name, and the probable time of erection all harmonize. It was a larger mansion than is generally believed, for it included the two or three houses on its south side, in the lower of which the characteristic windows above and the panelling on the south wall are quite enough to assure any one that it is of about Henry VIII's time. The north front requires some examination before its date can be determined. Much of the woodwork is of later date, and gives

a later character to the house. The exterior pargeting of the upper story is clearly Tudor, and differs greatly from that below, which has proved to be a rough Jacobean copy, dated 1628. The tall end facing the street, and the greater part of the interior panelling, belong to the same period. To restore the beauty of this palace of Oxford's first bishop, windows like those mentioned above would have to be replaced throughout the ground-floors of the three houses. Two of them are indicated by their hood-mouldings, &c. An early water-colour shows one house in which all four windows were complete. It is just possible that Agas was thinking of these many-lighted windows, when he drew the cottages which are shown at this place. The copied pargeting must be redone, and above all two miserable tenements between it and Water Hall, a fungoid growth on the mansion, must be done away with. Hutten's account appears to be the only early reference to this building. Wood either omits it or, for reasons not apparent, thinks 'the long fair house or that on the south side of it' was Water Hall (*City*, i. 300, note 12); but it is distinctly shown on Loggan's Map of Oxford. Ingram's account, however, is clear and precise. 'In <this> lower house the arms of King are several times repeated in the ceiling of the room on the ground floor. From <this> and the appearance of the back premises, we are inclined to believe that the whole <three houses> originally formed one mansion, which was most probably built by Bp. King after the accession of Edward VI when he was deprived of Gloucester hall, which had previously been assigned to him as his residence. The palace at Cuddesden was not built until near a century afterwards; and during the intermediate period the bishops of Oxford had no fixed residence. This house was subsequently occupied by and belonged to Unton Croke, esq., who was a colonel in Cromwell's army; and member of parliament for the city of Oxford jointly with his brother Sir Richard Croke, who was also recorder many years. His father, serjeant Croke, was deputy steward of the university from 1615 to 1641; and it is probable that he also occupied this property.'

P. 111. 'There is one other Bridge, before wee come into the Citty, which runneth by the Bishopp of Oxford his House.'

This is the Bow over Trill Mill stream described as a single arch: but remains of a ford-way have been once or twice uncovered near

the old Trill Mill Bow¹. Planks of oak about four inches thick appear to have been laid on the soft soil; to these were secured by tree-nails stoutish transverse beams, trimmed square, about fifteen inches apart, the intervals being filled up with pitching-stones carefully put on edge. Wood had seen something of this kind in the Botcherew (*Life*, i. 463); and the Ford Road, near Worcester House, had similar crossway timbers and pitching-stones, but the slope was much steeper, the beams not so square, and the whole less neatly executed. This road in St. Aldate's was about four feet six inches below the present level in front of the passage by Baxter's printing office: it was of no great antiquity, if the appearance of the timber is to be taken as evidence, but the peaty mud may have preserved it. Miles Windsor mentions a bridge called Trentill or Trensil Bridge, and he supposes that there was a Trentill Hall near it: if *tren-sil* is equivalent to sills of *treen* or trees, the name may be applicable to this bridge. Its other name, he tells us, was *Shereva*, probably his way of writing *sheriff* (*Bal.* MS. 69, p. 65, Wood's extracts from Windsor). The water which runs through it is the mill-tail stream from the Castle, which, having passed under New Bridge (the middle parts of its arches are, virtually, the oldest of any near the City), bifurcates at about a hundred and twenty yards below that bridge, one arm sweeping round towards Christ Church meadows through St. Ebbe's parish, where it sometime had the name of Turnboo streame and Turnmull stream, or Le Lytlegate water (V. p. 346), the other running southward toward the large gasometers. The name 'trill' seems to suggest a fast-flowing current, and such it would have been, had not the mills of the Grey Friars, Black Friars, Trill Mill, and probably a Priory mill checked its progress. Mill-dams, it appears, were not the only hindrances. Innumerable presentments (from 1321-1505) speak of its bad condition; dirt, filth, house-filth, horse-dirt, and dung were thrown into it; it was blocked up by wells and sprittys, and at one court twelve men were fined for defiling it. Such are only a few of the entries that Twyne noted; and when any plague or epidemic set in—they were frequent enough and severe in those days—the *procuratores nocumentorum*, the chief scavengers, were at once set to work to scour this and other streams. Dry seasons were generally followed by plagues, and the City authorities began to learn their lesson.

¹ It is probably out of this word that the *alias* 'Turnboo streame' has been composed.

Along this stream, strange to say, the brewers were frequent, and the water therefore may once have had a presentable appearance, say in the days of Elizabeth. There was also a **Trill Mill Hall** on our way. As early as 1324, in the will of John Coleshull, Trullemull halle is devised to his wife Alice (*City*, i. 300; Tw. 23, p. 510). In 1465 (*ibid.* p. 150) it was let to Robert Heth, a great brewer, and is described as between the course of the water running under Trillmyllbow on the north and a garden of St. Frideswyde on the south. Christ Church still holds land there. In 1504 and 1525 (Tw. 23, p. 193) it is described as a brewhouse. Trill Mill itself, lying close to the great South Road, naturally gave its name to the stream that turned it, a name it has scarcely lost, though it has been buried now some years. The mill was the property of one Robert, a presbiter, who by his charter (*Wi.* 20), when he was made Canon, and perhaps in acknowledgement of that favour, presented it to the Priory. He may be the early Prior, Robert of Cricklade, or Canutus, of the list in the Monasticon. (It should be noted that Wood disregarded, and wisely perhaps, the rubricated headings of some of these charters.) As the mill was not inserted in the Empress Maud's confirmation charter to St. Frideswyde's, c. 1142, the charter must be somewhere near the end of Stephen's reign. By it King Stephen confirms to the church of St. Frideswyde at Oxford the Church of All Saints within the City (not Town, be it noted) and the Church at North Gate and the mill at the bridge at Oxford, which Robert the presbiter gave to the said church at Oxford when he became Canon. The Charter 191 is about the renting of this mill; Trillemille is in the rubric. To this succeed some charters about Trillemille which Benedict Kepeharm gave them; and from Charter 192, it appears that this mill was situated upon South Bridge, Oxford, between a mill of the same prior, &c., and the South Gate.

We cross the second bow, and to the left stands **Water Hall** or Sprunt's—we must not say *stood*, for its modern representative is still there. The first Water Hall may be earlier in date than 1389, when (Tw. 23, p. 391) it is mentioned as John Lolly's: he made his will in 1393 (*ibid.* p. 632), and left the hall to be sold for the good of his soul; and it is then described as Waterhall next the Thames as it runs toward Trillemillebowe, the expression showing distinctly enough that the house was on the west side of the road. In 1478 (*ibid.* p. 478) Robert Fysher of Oxon, Bocher, and Agnes his wife grant to *William Orchyerde of Oxon, Freemason*, all their tenement between the tenement of All Souls lately the tenement of John Sprunt called Waterhall

on the south and a toft of St. Frideswyde's on the north, which tenement was lately John Bristowe's &c. Here we may pause a little and recall the master mason or the contractor (luckily the title 'architect,' with its mixture of the grandest and saddest associations possible, was not then invented) who planned the turret of the Founder's Tower at Magdalen College, the chapel windows, and perhaps the whole of those admired structures (Bloxam, ii. 230, &c.).

The toft of St. Frideswyde comes next: it is now occupied by some stables, and Christ Church still holds all the land from this boundary, across to the chapel of Pembroke College. We have been ascending for the last few yards, for there is a hill here, said to be named Tower Hill, but the name is seldom met with, as Grampoole and Grandpont included everything, almost up to the walls; even the church of St. Michael is said to be in it.

Parmunter's Hall, or Parmuncer's, comes next. The two names may be variants, the straight-backed *c* and *t* often differing but slightly in shape. In 1323 (Tw. 23, p. 476) Henry atte yate of Oxford quit-claimed at York to Geoffrey Warmewell and Sara his wife a messuage in the parish of St. Michael South Gate at a corner near the Street called Overheeslane on the north and the tenement called Parmuntres-hall on the south. This seems to be the only mention of this hall. **Pope Hall** or Poop Hall is described in 1400 (Tw. 23, p. 474) as the second tenement south of the lane.

North of these was **Overee Lane** or Butterwyke's, now represented roughly by the lane leading from St. Aldate's to the Broad Walk. The last syllable of Overee has been derived from the Welsh or British Rhe, a river; but it would be simpler, for those who are suspicious of Welsh endings to English words, to regard the last syllable as *eye*, for island, as *ea* in Anglesea, Chelsea, &c. In preparing for the foundations of the new south front of Christ Church (report of Oxf. Arch. Soc. for 1866, viii. p. 218), rapid streams were found to run there and a paved ford. Consequently the surmise that both this lane and the Shelvingstole may lie in that neighbourhood may be provisionally accepted (*vide* Clark's Wood's *City*, i. map ii). The English version of the Cartulary of Godstow, p. 126, informs us that 'Moolde (Maud) at the yate sold to Hugh Fitz Ranulph a rent of 3s. confirmed to him from the land of Roger Bernard,' and speaks of 'the lond of Alice Hore even ayanst the Shelvyngstole undir the Walle.' The island into which the lane led was probably the large one south of the Broad Walk, marked in earlier times by two brooks.

Among the All Souls documents, an. 1392, No. xcii (V. 144), is one whereby Richard de Garston and Thomas Baret burgesses of Oxford convey to Walter Downe three messuages one of which viz. Nich: de Beres was without South Gate between the Church of S. Michael South and the lane which leads from the high road even to Shulvyng stole. This puts the lane on the east side of the street, and not far from the church. In the Great Book of City Wills, p. 28 (Tw. 23, p. 515), is a reference to the lane: The will of Thomas Lech of Oxford called Tounclerke, in 1342, leaves to Galfrid his son certain messuages on either side of the Royal way of Grauntpont; and 13s. 4d. rent coming annually from a certain corner message in the parish of St. Michael between a lane called Overeslane on one part and a tenement of his on the other. Another name for the lane, Boterwyke, is found (Tw. 23, p. 474) in the grant by Robert Boterwyke Bedell of the University to John Shawe of Oxon Fishmonger Junior and Sara his wife the daughter and heiress of Thomas de Legh of two tenements situated together upon Grantpunt in the parish of St. Michael S. between a certain Lane called Boterwyke Lane or Overys lane on the north and the tenement of the said Robert, called of old Poophall, on the south, for life, 40s. rent and a cask of red herrings of the better kind, to be paid on St. Scholastica's day. Another version of the name, 'Overheeslane,' has been noticed under Parmunter's Hall.

It would be well for the traveller at this point of his journey not to neglect casting his eye towards a fair house on his left, No. 1 Brewer Street, lately the abode of the choirmaster of the Cathedral School, and before that, as far as we can judge from the ancient style of its interior fittings, one of the old halls of the City. Let him go and look at its front, and at the front of No. 3; let him turn into its courtyard just before the new school is reached; and he will find that they are the remains of the mansion of Oliver Smith, a noted brewer, whose large premises farther on in the lane gave its new name to the street. He was Mayor in 1619, and in 1624 he decorated his dining hall with splendid oak panelling (now moved, his shield and all, to the almshouses not a stone's throw distant) and with a plaster ceiling of very Gothic taste; the twin brother of it is in the room over Brasenose College gateway. He was also a fellow-labourer in treasuring up the records of Oxford. Twyne made a very handy collection from these, and they are included in his twenty-third volume, pp. 473-478.

P. 111. 'From whence wee come from (i. e. to) the South gate of the Citty, the Cardinall's building lying on the East side of the Streete, and the Almes House on the West, where it is to bee observed, that, betweene those two Corners of each side, there stood, within these few yeares, an old auntient Gate of Stone, which though now wanting, and cleane taken away, yet is therefore to be remembred, because it was the South Gate of the Citty, continuing on the Wall onwards, and there on a faier Stone were quartered the Armes of England and France in one Scutchion, the Armes of England beeing graven in the former and upper place, and those of France in the nether, contrarie to all that I, heretofore, have seene, which seemeth to mee worthy to be remembred for that it gave honor and precedencie to our Nation, and was a Monument not elce where to be found.'

Hutten was naturally struck with this unusual rendering of the royal arms. The shield was not quartered as customary, bearing first and fourth ancient France *semée de lys*, and second and third, three lions for England, but parted *per fesse*, the three lions above, the field of *fleurs de lys* below—England over France. The passage is interesting, as quartering of arms was almost unknown before 1340, when Edward laid claim to the crown of France.

This is the place to consider the wording of one of the small insets in the Map, which may be rendered thus: "Robert Oili the Norman, first of that name, built this well-fortified castle from its foundation in 1071. As to the wall of the City before the reign of William the Norman, nothing distinct is known. It is agreed that the City was most likely surrounded and adorned with a fosse and wall, at the time we had, by the illustrious valour of our king and soldiers, extended our rule over the French. As a trustworthy foundation for belief on this point, stand various conjectures not void of probability, especially that which we derive from a certain old gate (near the river as it flows south-westward) which we call Littlegate. For on it, upon the ruins of the half-destroyed wall, the combined bearings of France and of our own country are contained in a stone carving." There seems to be some confusion between South Gate and Littlegate unless both gates had the royal arms over them.

The almshouse is still on our left; its southern end was not completed till 1834, when its northern end was shortened. The southern doorway

of it, now blocked up, shows that the pavement, before 1772, was four feet above the present level. Whether the road was at this higher level, it is impossible to say. That there was a Cutler's Hill here, just outside the City gate, is probably correct. The southern side of Tom gateway under the groined entrance, and all the lower walling of that front, afford additional evidence that the footway and roadway have here been lowered. An ancient tradition speaks of the lowering of a hill at All Saints' Church, and some elevation has evidently been smoothed down in the middle of High Street in front of the north-west angle of the New Examination Schools. Everywhere else Oxford highways have risen, always risen. The depth of added soil which caps the hill at Carfax, amounts to nearly thirteen feet.

Our author is very clear as to the position of the gate and the line of the City walls. Agas was hindered by intervening buildings from showing the walls about here, but he sets down his gate at the right spot, and leaves a vacant space on each side of it, probably showing that some change had been made there¹. There are three points about the line of walls near Christ Church that may be here adverted to. Close under them on the east side was St. Michael's Church, South Gate. It appears from several documents that there was but one house between its churchyard and Overee Lane. From *Bal.* p. 29 we learn that in Miles Windsore's time its ruins and remains were to be seen and gazed upon in the foundations of Christ Church. The south wall of the Chapter-house and of the little churchyard near it are, as excavation has shown, in the course of the old City wall, and some of the remains of it were taken down, it is said, for the erection of the hall. Along the north side of Brewer's Street, Lambard's Lane, Slaying Lane, or King Street, are here and there stones of the City wall, if not remnants of the walling; and at the extreme end of Brewer's Street, there just peeps out above ground the arch of Slaying Lane well, once described as 'under the wall.'

iii. Christ Church to Carfax.

P. 112. 'Proceeding, therefore from this Gate onwards to Borcado (omitting to speake of the Lanes and Buildings of both sides) wee find on the waie, on the right Hand, in the Fish Markett, first the two Towne Halls, the upper and the lower, auntient both and serving, att the Quarter Sessions,

¹ Did Wolsey make any such change to give room for his stone-carts? The Folly was taken down, because Jackson's load of hay was too high.

for the meeting of the Justices of the Countrey, and ordinarie Affaires of the Citty.'

Hutten at this spot passes rapidly up Fysshestrete, leaving St. Aldate's for a second journey. It seems wiser to look a little more about us to the right and left and touch upon some points really pertinent, but omitted by him in his hasty journey. We are supposed to be moving along a great street of the City. It should be remembered that every main street once passed as High Street or Royal way; and, moreover, Suthbriggstrate (to match Astbruggestrate) and St. Aldate's are other names for the street from Grampoole to Carfox. Agas has South Street, while South Gate Street, to match North Gate Street, does not seem to occur. Now we are within the walls, we should observe how the side ways of the City split up the area enclosed by them. It may be a mere fancy on the writer's part, but he thinks the division of this south-west ward of the old city into three main strips by Pembroke Street (with its continuation, Church Street, St. Ebbe's), and by the old Kepeharme Lane (with its lost continuation), and again the intersection of these by (1) a parish boundary north and south, and (2) by St. Ebbe's Street, were not the results of accident or chance. The strip-system seems also to be carried out in the south-east ward, by Great Jewry Lane (lost) and its continuation Merton Street, and secondly by Blue-boar Lane, Bear Lane, and Kibald Street (now nearly lost).

As we pass Christ Church we should refer to Bereblock's pictures and note the elaborate gateway and side turrets reaching no higher than the roof, covered in temporarily. North of the gateway we should find the range of buildings terminating clumsily at about three-quarters of its present length, and we might gaze up at the battlements with their quaint conceits. These Bereblock drew somewhat inexpertly, and the reproduction by Whittlesey gives them in rather exaggerated proportions. These kinsmen of the Magdalen hieroglyphics have perished. Like many a poor joke, they have fallen flat. But above all, we should stand astonished at the preparations along the north side of the quadrangle, for a huge chapel by which, if Wolsey had lived, King's College Chapel at Cambridge would have been far surpassed. Aubrey tells us that something more than the foundations, as one would judge from Agas and Loggan, had been completed. A plinth reaching seven feet above ground (Aubrey MS. 6, fo. 91), of which he has left us a slight sketch (*vide* Clark, *Aubrey's*

Lives, ii. 310, and plate vi), had been completed, but how far along the building it is impossible to say. The design was simpler and nobler than the corresponding part of the Divinity School. The building was planned to extend almost the whole length of the north side of the main quadrangle, and to be ninety-six feet wide, if, that is, the identification of the south wall¹ with the line of the projecting buttress-bases in the quadrangle is correct. There is good reason to think that in 1662 Dean Fell used up the material (*Wood's Life*, i. 445) which was above ground, and that he covered up the traces of the walls with garden mould for the canons who dwelt there, carting off the chippings of his own work to improve a new straight walk in the meadow as shown in the Loggan map, 1675. The chippings were white, so it was called White Walk till 1768; this was corrupted in the next century to 'Wide Walk'—engravings bear witness to this—and then to Broad Walk, its present name. Most of the ashlar-facing of the north wall of Wolsey's building had been removed. The wall itself must have been more than six feet thick, and a beautiful example of masonry. When Oseney was demolished, anno 1545, we read of loads of stone being taken away from it 'for the wall' (V. pp. 585, 586), also from the White Friars. The phrase has attracted the notice of many, because there is no particular wall at Christ Church of that date. The discovery of these foundations in Aug. 1893 affords a very probable key to the mystery. Fabulous accounts of the solidity of the wall at the west end of Wolsey's Chapel were at one time circulated by the men who had hacked a way through it for drains and gas-pipes.

Facing Christ Church stands St. Aldate's Church, about which our author enlarges later on (p. 116), and north of that church is Penyfarthing (now Pembroke) Street; while between it and the church is a range of small houses, one of which was called the Priest's House, and one in Wood's time was called Church House, standing next to the church 'style' (V. p. 67), whose position was doubtless at the end of the little side lane running from Pembroke College. Bull Hall on the north (O. p. 53), and Abyndon Tenement², which was over against it (V. p. 68), were not very far along the street. On the south side, beyond the style, were, if we follow the order in the Oseney rentals,

¹ The south wall seems to have been half demolished before Dean Liddell restored the bases round Tom'quad. Its direction does not coincide exactly with that of the bases now there. It is questionable whether there are any remains of the south wall left, which we could measure from, much less judge of the abstraction of the 'facing.'

² There is a dwarf house about here, small enough and old enough to date back before 1500; it has three small gables.

Moyses and Grove Halls. The old documents of 1534 onward which Wood (V. pp. 67-69) extracted from the chests of St. Aldate's, present some sad reading, so many houses had been demolished by Wolsey; but they would probably be along the Christ Church front, and so outside the parish boundary. Many of them merely contributed to the church reserved rents willed thereto by benefactors. At the further end of the street, one door from the corner, looking towards St. Ebbe's Church, was probably **Paul Hall**, demolished in 1898.

The house next north of Christ Church shows plainly in Agas: it was in 1806 a roomy, country-like inn, *The Bull*, timber-framed, with three front gables. About 1820-30 a square stone box took its place, which was rendered almost respectable in appearance by alterations made about 1880. The house next above still remains, modified indeed, but retaining the two old gables towards the street, and having an early doorway. On its northern face, towards Blue Boar Street, are left just enough traces to show us even now how the great inn there was continued southward over the roadway. That extension was to be seen, we are told, so late as 1850. Behind these two houses is a structure once a Christ Church school, of solid build but much patched.

There were some other interesting features about here, i. e. on the west side of St. Old's or the Fish Market, as this upper portion of the street seems to have been called. Where the Post Office now is, a grand old building stood scarcely twenty years ago. Its cellar was so perfect that the Post Office authorities were petitioned to save it; the architect, however, had arranged to use the space in a special way. The beautiful panelling and stone cornices perished; two stones only remain in a basement under the Public Library to bear witness to a past skill in house decoration, such as we have lost since the Palladian style became the fashion. About three doors north of this, and two doors south of New Inn yard (V. p. 164), stood **Hinksey Hall**. The Hall seems at one time to have extended northwards, over the site of New Inn, which in 1560, the date of the document quoted here by Wood, did not yet exist. Its old name was *The Christopher*. It was rebuilt in 1897. A few remains, including a bold, Early Decorated jamb of a door, were then carted away to Hinksey, strange to say, from Hinksey Hall. In this connexion a somewhat curious document of 1407 (Tw. 23, p. 169) is worth recording:—Taxing of Heynssey hall by the City and University: First they tax a chamber in which Mr. John Thomas dwells at 20s.; then a chamber called Polton's chamber at 18s.; then two chambers beneath that

at 10s.; the great chamber on the south at 18s.; another chamber at the end of the same at 9s.; another chamber beneath the last at 5s.; two chambers beneath the great chamber at 5s.; also another chamber above le Spense at 9s. Sum total £4 13s. Spense here means the place for dispensing food—the buttery: where such remain in houses as old as this, they are good evidence of former use as Academic Halls. There is also another, so far unique, mention of Hinksey Hall; for (*ibid.* p. 477), ‘These indentures made the 19th day of January (1485) bitwixte John Eggecomb of Oxford on that one part and Mr. John Carewe principall of Henxheyhall on that other part, witnesseth that the seyde John Eggecomb hath delivered unto the seyde Mr. John Carrewe a license ad celebrandum in oratorio, a chalice of sylver parcell gilte pond’ v unc, a massebok that begynneth in ij^{do} folio in the Kalender—Marc’ prima necat &c.—to be delivered againe when they shalbe asked for &c.’ The reason for noting how the second folio began, was that the initial words of the first leaf are the same in all copies of the same work, but the initial words of the second leaf vary in each copy.

At the north side of Kepeharme’s Lane, now the New Inn yard, stood one of the **Kepeharme Halls**. The family was a rich and religious one in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, rival to others in good causes, and Mr. Maclean has done much to elucidate its history in his *Pembroke College* (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxxiii). A short distance up this lane was **Gloucester Hall**, which may be worth noticing, as we have two documents which show its growth northwards, till it reached Queen Street (*City*, i. 202).

The Blew-bore Lane on the east of the street now demands our attention. You may call it thus, or Little Jewry Lane, Tresham Lane, or Bear Lane (the last perhaps is incorrect). Each name has a history: (a) it bounded Little Jewry on the south. We read in several places of **Ape Hall** being in Little Jewry, ‘neare the Church yard of S. Edward’ (V. 543, anno 1300): (b) Dr. Tresham, Subdean of Christ Church (*City*, i. 156), had something to do with the wall on its south side: (c) lastly, Bear Lane, now Alfred Street, led into Blue Boar Lane, which ran east and west of its south extremity: Hutten, our guide, takes this lane on his journey towards the High Street. The **Blue Boar Inn**, at one time clearly a place of much importance, reached from the lane just mentioned northwards to the old Town Hall. The modern Town Hall embraces the whole of the site. It was of great height when it was demolished in 1893, though one story

had been taken off it. A chimney-stack nine feet six inches in width formed the central mass, round which clustered some twenty rooms. The cellars had been rebuilt, but the remarkable late fifteenth century staircase still remained untouched in the picturesque old wing originally built to contain it. At the rear of the house, in a basement on the left hand, were to be seen, forty years earlier, a set of pigeon-holes, alternately square and three-cornered, in rough ashlar work, remnants, as was supposed, of a Jewish receptacle for ashtars; but unrecorded changes, occasioned in making a back staircase to the mass of cellars under the former Corn Exchange and Town Hall, had cleared them away. There are many documents about the old inn, but a multitude of evidences does not always make matters clear. In the City Council Book A of the year 1399 (Tw. 23, p. 629), is the will of Nicholas Saundresdon of Oxon, Spicer. He leaves to his wife Matilda all that his tenement in which he dwelt, called of old *Domus conversorum* and now commonly Carysyn, and his tenement adjacent called Grenested Hall with the *fishbordes* standing on either side of the door of his inn, together with the right of presenting a chaplain to the chantry of the Blessed Virgin in the Church of St. Martin, when the next presentation happens, for the term of her life: paying to the Master of the House of Converts at Lunden eight marks of silver. Twyne's note must be added: 'this house **Domus Conversorum** beinge in or neare the Jury where the Jewes of Oxford dwelt, in all probability is now the house called the Blewebore, for it is wellknown that the chappell where the Rolles are kept in Chancery lane in Lunden, is called *Domus Conversorum*; and this blewebore house in Oxford payeth to this day a rent to the Master of the Rolles as it appeareth upon the Chamberlanes account of Oxford, A^o. Edwⁱ. 6ⁱ. 3^o. where under the title of *redditus Resolutus* I finde this stile "Also for the rent of a house tenement, called le Blewebore, paid to the Master of the Rolles of the Chancellor's Court of our Lord the King, for the time being 26s. 8d.": which it is likely came into the Townes handes of Oxford because the same Nicholas Saundresdon (in the same will, specifies that under certain conditions) the Person of St. Martyns together with the Mayor and Baylives should (carry out the will and have the right to present &c.)' Much of the above is given in Wood (*City*, i. 155), but whether at first hand, or from Twyne, it is not easy to say. Twyne (23, p. 184, Extracts from Council Book A) adds to our knowledge of the locality hereabouts: The Mayor and bailiffs in 1387-8 lease to John Brayles

alias Merston, taverner, and Isabella his wife, two cellars and two shops over the cellars situated under the Gildhall of Oxon, between the cellar and shops which John Stratford holds of the Town on the north and the tenement called Cary's Inn on the south. So also does a release in 1388 (*Ogle*, p. 71) of rights to the tenements, which formerly were Gilbert Grensted's in the street called le ffysh-strete between the tenement called Domus Conversorum on the north, and the tenement once John of St. Frideswyde's on the south: but the relative position of the two halls is still not clear. The northern end of the old inn was close under the Domus Conversorum, and it was there that the only wall decidedly ancient in width and mortar was discovered. From the north side of this last were also dug examples of old carved stone, dating from 1200 downwards. The situation of this wall was about two-thirds of the way northwards from the lane towards the parish boundary, which may have been, in earlier days, the line of demarcation between the lower and upper Gildhalls so often mentioned. The court of the Domus Conversorum would be kept at the older level, while the more modern structures would take the higher levels of later roads. The south wall of the eighteenth-century Town Hall corresponded, so far as could be judged at the time of the building of the new one, with the south wall of the tower-like part of the old Domus. The old house for converted Jews had a fine cellar; and this may have been the cellar whence a 'cart loade of powder and shott, beinge loaded out of Yeeld hall, were carried to the Schooles and lodged in the uppermost roome of the Schoole Tower' when Essex threatened Oxford (*Wood's Life*, i. 70). The groined roof of this cellar was supported by Early English shafts, four along each wall, west and east, and clustered shafts of four down the middle. Two ventilating shafts at the rear worked up through the walls, and two aumbries, with stone shelves, formed the only ornament. The ground-floor was also of Early English type, three or four windows, short and with lancet heads, and one old doorway on the eastern side. Of the doorway to the west, two stones were left after Rowney's rebuilding; and from these a good idea can be formed of its simple and chaste character. We will hope that the Victorian and succeeding ages will reverently preserve them. The third story appears to have had three two-light windows, with transoms and a round of plate-tracery in their heads, and there was a fourth window in the south bay, which outwardly resembled a dwarf tower. This window had rather more ornate tracery, designed probably for casements, as no grooves for

glass occur. The upper chamber would probably be that referred to in the Royal Order in 1351 (City Rolls, Tw. 23, p. 554): John Laundell, Sheriff of Oxfordshire, writes to the Bailiffs of Oxford that he has received letters from the King as to the pleas to be held in the fortnight next after St. John Baptist's Day advising and strictly enjoining them to have in repair a certain long and wide Hall 'de barris tabulis avenaciis et cameris adjacentibus ornatam' prepared after the advice and ordinance of John of Exeter, Criour, or his deputy, in which the said pleas may be terminated or pleaded. There were also some choice bits of cornice-work, perhaps from under the wall-plate. The side towards the street had been patched with Perpendicular and Jacobean windows. These particulars come mainly from a series of sketches made about the year 1751, now in the Bodleian (MS. Top. Oxon, L. 14). Those recognized as belonging to the St. Aldate's side of the building are much obscured by houses, overgrown standings, selds or stalls, which very much hemmed in the old Domus. The situation was a good one for business, and the City authorities tried to make as much as they could by ground-rents. Among other curiosities discovered in 1893 was a carved piece of stone, font-shaped, having a round basin hollowed in the upper surface of the block above, and supported by a central shaft and four others at the angles with caps and bases. The shafts themselves were treated in an Early Norman fashion, two of them spirally. There were also some star-ornaments on the upper plinth. Cable mouldings passed round the basin and the edge of the square block above. The total height was eleven inches, the square at top five inches and a half, and the height about three. The hemispherical basin was three inches three quarters in diameter and two and a half inches deep. Its appearance, like that of a model of a badly-proportioned font, attracted some notice, and drew attention to a medieval usage of some interest. It proved to be a cresset or stone stand, in which a light was kept floating on oil or other inflammable material, to be used in dark hours, much as the rush-lights of old days or, later, the night-light. Whether it had come from the first abode of the Black Friars, near at hand, or from the Domus Conversorum, or from St. Martin's, we shall probably never know; but there is no doubt of its great antiquity, it having been found below an accumulated soil of twenty feet in depth.

On the edge of the Domus and reaching westward, stood, down to 1893, Nixon's School, about halfway between the lane and the

modern Gothic building, which was erected for a Savings Bank. Its front was very ornamental and picturesque; it had wide windows of good design, two in the front, and one, afterwards blocked by other buildings, at the west end; it had also a doorway at the north-east angle, a pretty object among the many make-shift structures which were crowded round the little court-yard. The inscription running along the front, stating that 'Jn. Nixon Esqr. Alderman founded this School For Freemen's sons and Endow'd it with Thirty Pounds (annually) For Ever,' might probably have been amended, as a Gildhall school had existed for some years. We read, anno 1586 (Tw. 23, p. 603; Council Book A, f. 282), 'The Scholehouse by the Guildhall lett to Mr. Lynke for 33s. 4d. rent to kepe schole there.' Beside the school there was once an oratory, not mentioned early enough for the cresset to have stood at its entrance, two inns, and a prison, where the merciless treatment of medieval days was meted out to unfortunate prisoners and saucy freemen. Theatrical performances took place here in Elizabeth's days, but sometimes they were forbidden, and the Mayor's purse was endangered. In 1580 (Tw. 23, p. 597; Council Book A, f. 221), we read:—'The Mayor to forfeit x. li. if he give leave to players to play in Guildhall without the assent of the whole councell of the city, the Baylives to distrain on the Mayor if he pay it not.' There was also under the Council House a chamber and a *skelyng* (Tw. 23, p. 189). This is a local term, meaning an outhouse or office, whether a tenant's fixture or not, and is fully explained, *ibid.* p. 583, where the word is spelt Eskelynge.

We have seen how amply the folk who visited the courts held here, the Husting or Court of the Lord the King, on Mondays, and the Mayor's Court on Fridays (Tw. 23, p. 333) were provided with inns inside the *purlieux*, and on the north and south sides; but that is only the fringe of a great collection of taverns and tipping houses which, clustering round Carfax in older days, gave the locality the title of **Vintry** (*vinetaria*); and it is to the soil from the cellars of these, deposited recklessly, but according to custom, on the adjacent streets, that we must mainly ascribe the gradual elevation of this centre of Oxford.

The house north of the Gildhall, whose handsome cellars have been so luckily preserved, was an inn. The Council Book (Tw. 23, p. 627) shows this: a Charter enrolled in 1449 witnesses that Drugo Barantyne Knight granted to John Blake of Oxon his messuage called of old

Knaphall and now the Fawkon situated in the parish of St. Martin near Gilda Aula on its north side. That this was once the property of Ermenold (about 1115) is clear from a confirmation charter to Abingdon Abbey by Pope Eugenius III (see *City*, i. 150; *Chron. Abingd.* Rolls Series, ii. 196). Next we find mention of it in 1293 (Tw. 23, p. 335): John son of Henry Stodleigh gave a tenement called Knappe hall with the shops annexed to executors to be sold and distributed for his soul and the souls of his parents &c. Later on, in 1405, we learn (*ibid.* p. 355) who were the owners of the property: Thomas Gybbys complained that the Abbot and Henry (canon of the same abbey of Osney) came on Nov. 10 to his house called Knaphalle facing the inn called Battysyn and took a cup gilded within, value 20s., carried away and detained the same. The defendants replied that the taking was for a rent of 13s. 4d. due from him, and showed receipts for rents from several preceding tenants, running back to time immemorial; and the cup was to be restored when the money was paid. Twyne observes that it is clear that all the abbots since 1129 had been in possession of this rent, or it may have been longer. The Osney records will perhaps confirm his statements. Ermenold's Tenement was its early name (Tw. 23, p. 92). A writing of 1410 tells us this: Henry of Stodleye describes it as a messuage in the parish of St. Martin between the tenement which Adam le Longe inhabits on the north at the corner of the Quadrivium, and the Guildhall of Oxford on the south, which Ermenold once held, and now called Knaphalle, from which messuage also the abbot of Osney and his predecessors have been wont to receive a yearly rent of 13s. 4d. It may be added that the last deed is probably the only one which speaks of two houses north of Knaphall. The courtesy of the City officials will often allow an inspection of the cellar, of which one corner only has been interfered with. Its west end shows with tolerable clearness the old arrangement for letting down and taking up goods, and at the south-west angle means of access were provided at some time or other for entering a cellar under the street, or it may be that there was formerly an entrance from the street at this spot when the street was at a much lower level. At the north-west corner, at the back of the north wall of this ancient cellar, is another of the sixteenth century belonging to the next house to the north, by which a still larger cellar under the middle of the street is reached, and so a way made to other cellars under the old Swindlestock, the first house on the west side of St. Aldate's,

a wine-merchant's shop belonging to the City. The groining and groining-shafts are almost uninjured, and afford a peculiar instance of three bays not in a straight line, which, if the style of the work is considered, may be thought to date back as early as 1420.

Nothing further of particular interest, architectural or otherwise, occurs on the east side of the street, and so we will go back about three houses, to complete our exploration upwards on the west side to Carfax. Wootten's Bank and the house north of it have belonged to Merton College for several centuries¹, and it is from sets of old extracts, such as those made by Dr. Turner and Bryan Twyne, from the records of the College, that we learn what an important property it must have been. It was known by several names—Old Yeld Hall, Jacob's Hall, **Battes Inn**, Batty's Inn, perhaps Battys Hall, Cary's Inn, and the **Fleur-de-lis**. Though the antiquaries of early days are content to reckon the house which stood on the site among Academical Halls, there is not a particle of evidence in their favour in the forty or more documents that have been copied. It is under the last of the above names that it was leased to the Wood family in the seventeenth century. The great fire of Oxford in 1644 burnt down its back premises (*Wood's Life*, i. 111). It still has a way into Queen Street, and at one time, when it was held by Bereford, the hero of St. Scholastica's day, it included a tenement facing Carfax Church. Twyne (23, p. 762) gives a summary of its earliest history, from which we may select a few of the more important notices. We begin, then, about 1270 (*Tw.* 23, p. 755): Charter whereby John de Acton and Mary daughter of Geoffrey de Stockwell his wife granted to Mosses the son of Jacob of Oxford, who was son of Magister Mosse the Jew of London, those forty shillings of yearly rent and quitrent which Jacob was accustomed to pay from the tenement in the parish of S. Martin between the tenement formerly Philip Padi's on the north, and the land of Elias the son of Basseva, a Jewess, on the south: Witnesses: John Adrian then Mayor of London, Gregory of Rokesle and Henry le Waleys then Sheriffs, Nicholas de Kingston then Mayor of Oxford, John le Quilter and Elias le Quilter then Bailiffs, and six others². This document stands first in Twyne. The next is a grant of it by Queen Eleanor

¹ No. 120, the upper one, has become City property.

² This deed belongs, as Twyne surmised, to the year 1271 or 1272. The Librarian of the Guildhall, London, kindly writes: that 'John Adrian was Mayor of London for the years 1270 and 1271' (signed) C. Welch.

(Tw. 23, p. 685) to Henry Oweyn vintner, giving the same south boundary, but calling the house north of it, undoubtedly the Swindlestock, the house of the Bishop of Chester. Then come two quit-claims of 1279 and 1312, the latter to a John de Falele; then John of Falele grants it, under the name Oldyeldhalle, to Richard Cary and Johanna his wife, anno 1336. Then John, son of Richard Cary, a John of Falle and two other executors of Richard Cary, sell it in 1349 under the name Batteshall to John de Bereford and John of Etindon (Hedington?). Then the last named resigns his right to Bereford, same year. Then a Richard of Durham resigns his rights in it (Oldyeldhall) to John de Bereford, 1352. Then Roger Folioth the Person of Witney resigns his rights similarly to the same, 1353 (it was then Battersyn). Finally, in 1361, John of Bereford leaves it (as Battersyn) by will to be sold. We omit the later owners he mentions, and his interesting notice how, when it came to Merton, the Royal Escheator laid claim to it; but it is to be observed that in 1367 the place had been augmented, for it is then described (*ibid.* p. 759) as Batteshyn with its cellars and solars and all my tenements and their appurtenances in the parish of St. Martin Oxon, called Newerent, facing the same church. Though the City officers had their two inns within their own precincts, and an inn on either hand, yet we find them resorting on many occasions to this inn, concluding bargains, celebrating feasts of concord, or welcoming nobles, visitors, or ambassadors. **Swyndlestock**, Siren or Mermaid Inn, has been mentioned before. It is now the business office of a firm who possess perhaps the most curious range of cellars in the whole of England. They are those of the combined Batty's Inn and New Rents belonging to Merton, of the old City Inn and of the Oriel Tenement (Tw. 23, p. 544, City document) north of Knap Hall. From the first of these all connexion has been apparently cut off, but a passage-way, a cellar below a cellar, is still left, the vaults of which are groined in the style of the twelfth century, like the triforium-passages at Christ Church and the western, unrendered, bay of the crypt of St. Peter's-in-the-East. The New Rents are covered by a wagon-vault of great width, having cross-vaulting on the north side, towards Carfax tower. It is here that we find the sharply pointed arches—more probably belonging, to judge from the mode of their execution, to the thirteenth century, than a survival of an earlier mode. If the reader will now, in imagination, pass through the cellar to a spot

about ten feet south of the old centre of Carfax, he will find at the great depth of eleven feet seven inches a portion of the earliest roadway remaining in Oxford. Had Oxford streets risen at the usual rate, viz. about a foot a century¹, this depth should be not more than eight feet. A road of identical construction was three times met with when the drains of the 1896 Town Hall were made, but as that building is on the slope of a hill, the accumulations on the old road gradually diminish towards the south. In two places in Queen Street the tops of sewers necessary for such a road have been found at even greater depth, and what is apparently the same road has been encountered at a depth of eight feet near the Wheatsheaf passage, and at a depth of four feet six inches in front of St. Mary the Virgin's, both in High Street.

iv. Carfax to Bocardo.

P. 112. 'From hence wee goe upp to Carefax, or Quarvex (soe called, because *quatuor in ventos ibi se via fundit eunti*) upon the highest part whereof standeth a faier Conduit, the late and worthy worke of Mr. Otho Nicholson, a Gent. of London, who, for the publike good both of the Universitie and Citty, builded the same, every Colledge from thence haveing a Cock to their Kitchens, and the wholl Towne recourse thereunto for their Water.'

Hutten, or the writer from whom he borrowed the hexameter ('The way spreads itself towards the four winds, before the traveller'), grasped the meaning of the first syllable, as any one well might, but his mode of spelling the second shows that *furca* (our fork), as in the better spelling **Carfox**, was an origin he least suspected. The idea of bringing water from Hinksey was first carried out by the Abbey of Osney (*City*, ii. 205), and bits of the pipes, lead within stone, from under the river, used to lie (from 1880-1896) near Osney Mill. Nicholson's structure is well described by Wood (*City*, i. 441-9), and can still be seen in Nuneham park; the wavy lines

¹ Savage, in his *Balliofergus*, 1668, p. 61, advances a theory for this, which has some interest. An 'Ovens mouth was found to be lower then the ground we there {Hammond's Lodgings} tread upon, so much is the Earth swelled up again towards its natural rotundity . . . {as} may be seen by our old Colledges, whereof time hath half buried some in that Earth they once stood above; and had done all the rest, had they not been kept from sinking quite into their Graves, by the bounty of Pious Benefactors.'

on the lower parts, to represent the water within, being alone erased at the time of its re-erection. It was badly built, and soon required rebuilding. After a good deal of trouble, the City has lately acquired a bit of Nicholson's leaden pipe found near the kitchen of Lincoln College.

P. 113. 'On the left hand, under the East end of St. Martin's Church, yee see that Seate, which is called Pennelesse Bench, builded by the Cittie, aswell for their solace and prospect every waie, as for the conveniencie of the Market Women in the tyme of Raine; and soe leaveing the Innes and Tenements on both sides, wee come to the Corne Markett, which Fabrick Doctor Claymond, the first President of C. C. C. (of whom wee spake before) builded att his owne charge, and covered it with Lead,

Vt possit siccum saccus habere locum.'

A reference to Mr. Fletcher's volume on **Carfax Church** (Oxford, 1896, pp. 12, 13, and plate iii) is all that need be given about the position of Penniless Bench and its associations, yet it may be added that outside the church stalls were erected or seats allowed for the use of market-folk, and the Corporation added to their income by a small impost upon 'the baskets' stationed there. It is said that as the buttresses interfered with the seating, they had been hacked away, but the plate does not show this, and it would be wiser to attribute the bad state of the walls before 1822 to the very great number of graves dug close to them. At the demolition of the church, saving a coin or two of Athelstan's time, no great discovery was made. There were, indeed, very deep in the soil, a grave with an edging of stone placed round it, an archway of early character, suggesting a sewer, a piece of twelfth-century enamel, and so on; but when the south face of the northern wall was well exposed, the foundations presented an appearance so uncommon that it may perhaps be unique. Commencing at about ten feet deep (the tower foundations are nearly fourteen) was a rubbish-heap nearly five feet wide, of red earth and small stones, some of them seven inches long. The heap was three feet seven inches in height, and sloped inward, or battered, seven inches. It had at one time been cased with regular courses of stone from Chilswell, but interments near the walls had removed nearly the whole of this casing. Experts in such matters

regarded it as a genuine Norman foundation, and said that red loam, if mixed with a little lime and well beaten down, made a foundation which seemed to be solid, but was not really durable, as the lime in the mixture perishes. We so often read of Norman buildings having no foundations, that it is worth investigating whether stony rubbish like this ought not to be regarded as merely accidental. In the lower part of this north wall there were no remains of carved stone, but at a similar level in the tower a small piece of chamfered stone was found. The second range of foundation, resting on the one before described, was of better material and much narrower, two feet nine inches only. In this were found thirteenth-century tiles, both for flooring and roofing, and small pieces of earlier carved work. It was about one foot eight inches in height. Thirdly, came rows of large Headington stones, generally three rows, rising altogether two feet four inches, imbedded in comparatively modern mortar. Thus there were shown the foundations of a Norman, of a Perpendicular, and of a revived-Gothic church (of 1822) one above the other. The huge sewer running through it, within five feet of the Cornmarket, was round-headed, roughly built, and might be of almost any period, perhaps no more than an arch over some ditch or soft place. At the north-east angle of the old church—it had no chancel—and ten feet nine inches west of the former kerbstones in the Cornmarket, there was an early porch, fifteen feet wide, five feet ten inches in depth, surmounting a round-headed arch, a few stones of which were of earlier workmanship. The arch had been blocked up, and a space of about three feet in width between the two walls had been converted into a charnel house. Now that the tower has been stripped, it is clear that for centuries the southern wall of the nave stood a little back from the line of the south face of the tower. It was not till the fifteenth or sixteenth century, that Queen Street was narrowed by adding a south aisle. The document quoted by Wood (*City*, ii. 86) as showing that the tower had once, 1340, been lowered because it might be used for offensive purposes by the citizens, proved on examination to be simply an order for Adam de Brome and another to investigate whether the City were raising an *aisle*, embattling it, and crenellating it to the danger of the University. The house Wood complains of (*City*, i. 63, note i. (b)) as built at Quartervois ('suffering an house to be built on the church-yard') was at the north-east angle of the old burial-ground. Could he have seen, as we have lately seen, how year by year the house at the

angle of the tower gradually extended along the south, and swallowed up all the churchyard at the west, and how much was filched from nave and churchyard when the Cornmarket house was rebuilt, he might have uttered a similar protest. There has been buried, twelve feet deep, in the western house (Sept. 1896) a massive quasi-diagonal buttress of the old tower; and concealed within its walls are a second pilaster-buttress like the north-west one, and, most interesting of all, a lancet window with a small gable over it at just that height where the wall thins down to about sixteen inches. The gable was finished with a projecting roll-moulding. These are perhaps small details, but attention to them would have enabled an architect to repair in a conservative and unostentatious way, and have obviated the need for additions. The font of this church will now be found in All Saints' Church. Shakespeare once stood near it, as godfather to William Davenant the Poet Laureate. Many of the tombstones of old Oxford worthies have also been transferred to All Saints, some serving as paving-stones round the pulpit. A few mural monuments from Carfax Church adorn the gallery.

A narrow house with a passage, which may well be, as Mr. Clark thinks, a survival of Draper's Lane, lies next to the north of the new building; and then comes the Birmingham Bank, in rebuilding which some remains of medieval groining were discovered at the four angles of the basement, and more than traces of a garden lying at the back about ten feet below the present level. The situation corresponds fairly well with an inn called Spycer's, the King's Head, **Drapery Hall** (and perhaps, in a contracted form, Pery Hall), mentioned (Tw. 23, p. 276) in an agreement dated 1344 between Nicholas le Mercer of Oxon of the one part and Bartholomew de Cornewail and Joan his wife of the other whereby Nicholas granted to them a messuage with its appurtenances in Oxford in the parish of St. Martin between the cemetery of the same church on the one side and the tenement which was of Richard de Tekne and Joan his wife, called le Draperie hall, on the other: 10s. annual rent to the king, and 6s. to Richard. This agreement was made at the Husting's Court. Whether there was more than one Drapery Hall, it is perhaps useless now to enquire. The writer of the two notes (*City*, i. 225, note i.) was probably William Smith of University, and he was, he says, uncertain upon this point. When this house was pulled down, one of the prettiest pargeted fronts in Oxford disappeared, and many of us still regret its loss. The next house was the **Crown Inn**, and

it included in former days the part fronting the street. Whether it was older than the other Crown Inn opposite, now Hookham and Gadney's shop, it is not easy to say. Elizabethan remains still exist on that site, the old dwelling place of the Davenants, but they were also to be found here, on the west side, when the Bank just mentioned was built.

We must not forget the still more difficult problem awaiting us at the other side of the Cornmarket, Northgate Street, or North Street, as Agas calls it, and we begin with the house at the north-east corner, where the ways meet. This, on one interpretation of the documentary evidence, would be about the position of **Sorrell Hall**. The name is probably a clumsy version of Solar Hall. One Walter of Wythull (White Hill) Knight gave in 1296 *m.* (V. p. 539) to Mr. Nicolas de Eu 3*s.* rent from the tenement situated between Maugher's Hall on the one part, and the land of Walter de Grendon on the other in St. Martin's parish. This gives the order from the south as Grendon's Tenement (Sorrell Hall of later days), Wythull's Tenement, and then **Maugher Hall**, whose site is known. There are two other references to Wythull's Tenement which reach as far back as 1268 *m.*, but of no use for determining the topography. Of Somenore's Inn, another name, we suppose, for Wythull's, we have more information; but the first occurrence of this name is in 1329, and in thirty-three years, on this supposition, it had acquired a new name. As it was New College property, the site has been traced. It had another name, **Pates-yn**. In a New College rental of 1490 (V. p. 265), we have next to Mauger's Inn, '20*s.* from Someneresyn now called Patesyn.' North of this was **Mauger Hall**. The first notice of this Hall is in 1227 *m.* (V. p. 538), from some Frideswide Manuscripts in the St. Martin Box, where Mauger's Hall Entry is referred to. This may be the back Lane of the High Street on that side, continued westwards through the Drapery opposite, or perhaps into Sewys Lane. It was probably so named from the owner of a stall there about 1230 *m.* (V. p. 371), as we learn from Osney documents, that John Pilet gave to Osney 10*s.* yearly rent from a stall held by Andrew Halegod in the parish of St. Martin which is situated between the stall of Thomas Mauger and one of William Burewald. In 1384 (V. p. 59) it had Harding Hall to the north, and was then called Mair Hall. In 1403 rent was paid for it to Merton Priory (V. p. 281), under the title of Maioris or Major's¹ Hall, to which Wood adds the note, 'same as Ginginer's inn,' and refers to the

¹ Mauger is in Guernsey always pronounced Major.

account of a collector (V. p. 271), who puts down his receipts as from Sir Robert Trysilian's house, but calls it 'Gyngeres In' when speaking of expenses upon it. The history of the ownership of this hall comes out very concisely in a defence that the Warden of New College made in 1407 against Robert Croxford, who was too ashamed to appear in court (Tw. 23, p. 361): A certain John Croxford the grandfather of Robert was seised of the same messuage and gave it to Robert Wyghthull who gave it to William Gynger who gave it to John Stodley and Agnes his wife, and John and Agnes became duly seised of the property. Then John Stodley died and Agnes gave the messuage with other lands to Robert Tresilian Chivaler. Afterwards at the parliament of Richard II held at Westminster Tresilian was convicted of divers felonies and his property came to the king, who sold it to William Bishop of Winton founder of the College; and Wykeham granted it to Thomas Cranley then Warden of the College and to his successors. Further on comes Twyne's note: . . . but the Hall is much older than this suit, much older than Knappehulle: when Cambridge was in its infancy under King Henry I they taught in granaries and sheds, but the Oxford men then had a street of schools. A violent attack on the landlord of this inn, 1289 (Tw. 23, p. 662), is worth notice, as it implies that there was a charge for raising the hue and cry (Hutesia), probably when the alarm was unnecessary. A man came into Richard de Garderobe's tavern, took his servant Stephen by the hood, held him and bit his left thumb, drawing blood, and the hue and cry was raised at the cost of 20s. One of the New College rentals makes mention of a Wool house in Pates yn; it is not surprising that there should be at this central part a house for dealers in wool, one of the staple products of England. The various other names of the Inn, Malger, Marjer, Maier, and the variations upon Gynger, such as Gynevere and Gingeneres, add interest to the place, but do not help us to clearness. It would not be wise to say whether or not it included the whole or part of the present Cross Inn; there is force, then, in the words of Wood here, 'I, in doubt, pass forward' (*City*, i. 27).

In order to satisfy the references in a long series of deeds in Nicholas Bishop's Collection (now alas! at Cambridge), we ought to find near here a lane called indifferently Abbot of Oseney's Lane or **Colebourne's**, being an east and west branch of the lane generally passing by that name. As the pillory for some years stood opposite this lane, it would be well if it could be satisfactorily identified. Wherever

it was, we know that **Harding Hall** stood in it. A document of the year 1357 (V. p. 57) places Maior Hall on the south of this lane. Part of it is probably the subject of a document of about 1190 (Tw. 23, p. 75), by which Hugh Abbot of Oseney granted to Malger the vintner all the land which Walerand of Crikelade gave to the Abbey in Oxford with the buildings: for in 1534 (V. p. 592) a certain tenement had Walerand's on the north, and the 'Crosse inne now in the tenure of John Austen, Alderman' on the south. In 1252 *f.* (V. p. 259) it passed from Hardyng to Wyleby, and (*ibid.*) Wyleby, at a date not given, gave it to Littlemore. It was let by the Prioress as a garden, and was sold to New College in 1456 (*ibid.*), its four boundaries being a tenement of New College on the south, a tenement of Thomas Derherst called Coventree Hall on the north, a tenement of St. John's Hospital on the west, and the land of Wm. Dagvyle on the east: this cannot be Dagvyle's house, the present Mitre Inn. Wood adds, 'the prioress of Littlemore owned a shop or two in the High Street next to the Cross Inn.' The next charter, dated 1500 (V. p. 169, No. 1), makes the matter clear: R. Mayew President of Magdalen sells to Wm. Portar Warden of New College a parcel of land between the Cross Inn belonging to New College and Coventre Hall belonging to Magdalen College, with covenants for making and maintaining a wall between the late purchased land and the garden on the east (Hardyng Hall) belonging to the said Warden. We are tolerably sure that the next place to the north was **Coventry Hall** or Cary's Hall, as Wood made this note from a document of Lincoln College (V. p. 57): Mr. Henry Castel, clerk, grants (1357) to John Croxford of Cudlington a void place which was once called Hardyng Hall in the parish of St. Martin between Maiorhall on the south and a messuage called Caryhall on the north. Croxford was, therefore (see above), the owner of two inns at that time. In 1384 (V. p. 59) John Skitling, chaplain (a clerk again, because it belonged to Stodele's chantry in All Saints), and others grant to William Dagville Croxfordes yn with a place of land called Hardyng Hall between the tenement of Thomas de Somerset on the north and Maior Hall on the south.

In front of the last two or three inns, Claymond erected his Cornmarket, not that he established a fresh place for the sale of grain, but that he wished the farmers to be a little better accommodated; 'that the sack might have a dry place' as Shepreve put it. Though no longer visible in the original map, it is to be seen in Whittlesey's

copy, where the roof is represented as supported by two cross-shaped trestle-frames. As Loggan drew his map in 1675, and Claymond died in 1537, no very great change would have taken place in that interval; yet it is drawn in the later map much more to the west side of the road, and the structure has altogether a different framing. This leads to the conclusion that Whittlesey worked from an injured copy of the original. The Cornmarket would be near the central fold of the map, and therefore be likely to suffer first.

Still keeping on the east side, the next place worthy of notice is the Roebuck Hotel, some of whose buildings are still unobliterated in Agas, while the entire quadrangle at the rear appears in Whittlesey. The confused statements regarding this inn and its outlet into Cheyney Lane, now Market Street, cannot here be more than alluded to.

Shoe Lane, the old Sewys Lane, is opposite to the Roebuck; its eastern arm has been blocked up, and the access to it is now through the Clarendon Yard and Crown Yard. The other arm was closed very early. We read in 1366, in the Small Red Book of the City (fo. 147 b), among the rents: From a place within the abode which was William Pennard's, which place was formerly a lane leading from the highway unto the ditch of the castle, 2s. So early had it been found a profitable thing for the City to get rid of the responsibility of cleaning and warding these lanes, and at the same time to add something to its income. The leases of these lanes are often overloaded with excuses for the action of the City in depriving the citizens of their accustomed roadways. Twelve years later, 1378 (Tw. 23, p. 177), the western arm was stopped: John Gybbys mayor of Oxford and the whole community granted to William de Coleshull and certain others a certain lane in the parish of St. Peter le Bailly called Sewys Lane, now a receptacle for all evil doers, felons and filth; the eastern part of which lane towards the highway called North-gatestret they are to close with a very strong stone wall; at the western part, towards a street called North Bailly, a large gate must be made for free ingress and egress of those who dwell in the tenements there. A Mr. John Sprunt had a brewery there, seemingly where Mr. Hyde's factory now is, being in St. Peter-le-Bailey parish. He, in 1419 (ibid. p. 532), made a will which is curious for the mention of old taverners' plant, vessels of lead, wood, and brass. Smith appends to this a note, 'I conceive this house stood in the old Butcherow and that if the back port reached to the

lane Sewestwichene, it was because he then rented a garden belonging to University College that was on the south of that lane, but after the King's head or Crown Inne came to the College, it has been usually let with one of the tenements that belong to the messuage called anciently the King's Head.' This Mr. Sprunt owned places called Carsewell and Bollyes in St. Michael's South, and Garlondes in St. Mary's. In 1405 he had probably been fined, as in a court of frank pledge that year it was thus presented: They say that John Sprunt has occupied Sewyslane with dirt and ashes, and that he throws out *fastent*¹ water to the amount of three hogsheads (dolia) by which the way there is greatly deteriorated. Therefore he is in the mercy of the Court.

Cheyne Lane, now Market Street, east side of Northgate Street, is another instance of a lane with more than one name. It is called (1) St. Mildred's Lane because it led to the west end of that church; (2) Lane leading from the Lorineria, a part of the Cornmarket given up to harness fittings in metal; (3) Bedford Lane (probably) and (4) Adynton's from two families which once held property there. Hutten calls it Jesus Colledge Lane, and takes us down it later on. (*Pl.* p. 98.)

Bodyn's Lane, Setreton's Lane or Bridewell Lane, is that north of the Clarendon Hotel. It now leads to the buildings of the Union Society and to Frewin Hall. Henry Bodyn's name appears in a mutilated rubric (*Wi.* 381), seemingly as an owner of land in All Saints' parish, which he afterwards (*ibid.* 385) makes over to St. Frideswyde's, and the whole of the Clarendon site belongs to Christ Church; but there is no mention in the Frideswyde Cartularies of any Bodyn connected with St. Michael's, the parish in which the lane is situated. One Robert Bodyn was Alderman *c.* 1245. Christ Church doubtless got their land here through Osney. Setreton or Seterton was the name of an owner of some importance living in the lane in 1404. Wood (*V.p.* 559) quotes Thomas Setreton's message, &c. 'in St. Michael's parish at North Gate, between a tenement of Osney on the South, and a tenement of John Sprunt, and a certaine lane called of old Boldenelane on the North (6 H. 4); by this description it must be Bridewell lane, for the Star belonged to Osney.' From this we may conclude that Setreton dwelt between Marshall's Inn, the earlier name of the Star, and the present lane leading to Frewin Hall. Our map

¹ The word has not yet, perhaps, got into the dictionaries; it is applied elsewhere to dirty fish-water.

explains the name Bridewell Lane; the Bridewell in Elizabeth's days was the former St. Marie's College—we shall pass by it later. (*Pl.* p. 90.)

The White Hart Inn, an early seventeenth century structure, the basement and fifteenth century remains of the old front of No. 27 Cornmarket, and a tallet, of about 1400, down the entry of the Blue Anchor Inn, have not been identified with any properties referred to in early writings.

We now come to **Ship Street**, then much more wisely called St. Michael's. It has, facing the church, a medieval structure which was at one time called Burewald's House and then the New Inn. It now bears very little resemblance to the early drawings, and has clearly suffered from restoration. Dyonisia Burewald, widow, was the founder of the earlier of the two chantry chapels in St. Michael's Church—that on the south side and furthest east—marked by very plain tracery. She is mentioned, *c.* 1240 (*Wi.* 478), in connexion with a seld or stall in this parish, and (*ibid.* 609) also about the same date as granting to St. Frideswyde's fifteen acres of land in Walton Fields. From her the lane was named 'Denis Burwaldlane' (*Tw.* 23, p. 420).

Facing Ship Street is the **Plough Inn**, with a very characteristic early eighteenth century front, and some early walls on the north side. North of this is **New Inn Hall Street**, which continues under the same name past St. Mary's College, the new St. Peter-le-Bailey Church, &c., in a direction at right angles to its original course. It was formerly called Bedford Street, from a large house belonging to a man of that name, and Wood Street, from the timber yards in it; also Bocardo Lane, which would be the best name for it. The part running east and west has now (1899) been re-named St. Michael Street.

The house next north of the Lane, distinctly so described and also as being within North Gate, would be one of those named 'under the Wall.' About forty years ago it was a picturesque chandler's shop and was said to have early cellars. It is visible in Agas just west of the North Gate opposite to St. Michael's Porch. The next house, the Leopold Arms, is of about George the Fourth's¹ time in design, and has had a wing added on the north, occupying just the width of the old City wall. In the cellar a portion of the old wall can be seen very clearly. From the south side of New

¹ Councillor Moore thinks it is earlier.

Inn Hall Street to this wing would be the primitive **Royal-way** under the walls, a military way kept open as a ready means of passage between one bastion and another. The same way can be traced in Ship Street from Jesus College Stables to the rear of the houses facing them; again between the Divinity School and the west front of the Theatre, again in King Street from its western edge to the gardens of the small houses facing the New Examination Schools; and is mentioned in deeds of purchase which concern two strips, one on the old site of Merton College, and the other at the edge of New College garden.

St. Michael's Tower has a doorway arranged for stepping on to the alure of the City wall. A similar doorway is shown in prints (King's), at the north-east angle of St. George's Tower. Moreover, just as St. Michael's seems to have been in part a military tower, so there are reasons to think that the turrets of St. Peter's in the East also served as watching-places over East Gate. As round towers were customary in Henry the Third's days, when the walls assumed the form they now have round New College gardens and between Corpus Christi College and the Cathedral, we may hesitate to say that **St. Michael's** tower formed part of the fortifications, except in a limited way; yet, by having coigns only on the north side, it is marked as being designed to form part of that noble gateway which Agas draws for us, we will hope without adding or diminishing anything. From his map we can understand what changes were made in later times when the churchyard on the north of the church was enclosed. Some of the foundations of the new work have been discovered, but there is no recorded account of the change. From the very early style of the lowest window in this tower—splayed outwards and inwards, in the very roughest workmanship—it has been contended that the lower part of the tower is much older than the upper; but the general masonry of that face is the same from top to bottom, and the upper windows show the same rough method of dealing with the stones which form the arches. On the south side there is much more variation, but that results from a house having been built against it by a Mayor named Flaxney, contrary to the wishes of the vicar and the parish. There are many good prints of Bocardo which show this house, and one or two documents may be here referred to. Among the charters of St. Michael's Church North, as copied by Nicholas Bishop, a wealthy brewer who seems to have lived at the west end of the present Jesus College, and who

prepared, about 1429-60, materials for writing a *Treatise about North Gate Street* (Tw. 23, p. 430), comes this Royal Letter in French issued 1415: Since divers debates and challenges have arisen in these days between the Parson of the Holy Church of Saint Michael at Northgate, claiming the ground of the cemetery as parcel belonging to the said church, and the Mayor and Commonalty claiming the same as belonging to their town, as they hold others all along the walls of the said town, and whereas the parties aforesaid have submitted these debates and challenges to the arbitration of these honourable gentlemen, that is to say, Thomas Gybbes and William Brompton, aldermen, Adam de la Ryver, Thomas Coventry, Richard Moldeworth, and Walter Colet, empowering them to make a final discussion and agreement upon the case &c. In 1417, in the Quinzaine of Easter, 5 Hen. V, John Persey then being rector of the church, the case went in favour of the mayor and commonalty, that the house was parcel of the fee farm. From the same collection (p. 429) we are told of a dispute about the portion of the cemetery of St. Michael North which is near Northgate; the Mayor and commonalty of Oxford claimed it and caused a house to be erected there by one John Flaxney: but when Robert Aston, the Rector of the same church, intervened and endeavoured to stop their proceedings as being a damage to the said church, he was taken off to the castle prison, by a King's writ unjustly obtained by the mayor, Stephen of Aynton (elsewhere Adynton), in 1339: and Stephen the mayor suddenly died not much after—he who a little before had exhumed dead bodies for the erection of the house within the bounds of that cemetery. This collection of Bishop's may perhaps some day tell us where **Colesbourne** Lane opened into the Northgate street, and we may be able to locate the Pillory there. Perhaps too, we may have an account of the things which happened in the removing of the pillory or collistrigium from its accustomed place in the Street of Northgate, in the middle of the Street facing Colesbourne Lane (*ibid.*).

In the restoration carried out at St. Michael's in 1897 there was discovered and opened another of the pilaster-windows of the tower, making eight in all. Forty years ago only the upper four were visible. In every case the through-impost above the central baluster-shaft had cracked, and it was noticed, both in 1855 and 1897, that little or no weathering had affected the surfaces either of balusters or imposts; and so it was the good fortune of some

to gaze upon stone facing as fresh as when it was first executed, i.e. about the end of the eleventh century. The whole of the simple carving had been done *in situ* with some tool of the axe character. The walls were greatly imperilled by huge cracks extending from the beams of the bell-frame upward and downward. These were very carefully repaired, but so brittle had the mortar become, that the parishioners wisely resolved not to use the bells for ringing, and they have now remained more than a year in a temporary shed on the north side¹. The bells were arranged to ring all in one direction, north and south; and the cross-beams, east to west, which should have checked the swinging of the bell-frame, were weak and insecure; it was to this that Mr. Hutchinson, the architect, attributed the cracks; he could not detect any subsidence in either of the walls.

P. 113. 'Hence wee passe on to the North Gate called Bocardo, famous, as for Antiquity, soe for imprisonment of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishopp of Canterbury, Doctor Ridley Bishopp of London, and old Father Latimer sometimes Bishopp of Worcester, in the daies of Queene Mary, all of them burnt in the Towne Ditch, over against Baliell Colledge, and not farr from this Prison.'

The passage about the imprisonment of the Bishops is generally agreed to, and a small cell on the west side, ground floor, the 'Bishop's Hole'—with a window strongly barred, and a pointed doorway—is to be seen in most of the drawings of the south front. It is the door of this cell that Alderman Fletcher has preserved for us in St. Mary Magdalen Church. The doorway is omitted in some views, perhaps accidentally. As the main chamber over the gate was the abode of the lowest criminals, it is improbable that the Bishops would be incarcerated with them.

v. St. Aldate's to the Castle.

P. 114. 'And here wee will make staie from proceeding further, 'till wee goe back againe, and take a view of those severall Lanes and Streets, which, on the West side, open themselves towards the West Gate of the Cittie. Comeing, therefore, out of Grandpoole, the first Lane Westward is that which is called Brewers Streete, and hath noething memorable

¹ They are now, August 1898, replaced within the tower to be chimed only.

in it, but onely that it leadeth towards the Preaching Friers over the Streame on the left, and to the Grey Friers directly goeing on, hard by Litle-gate, of both which wee have alreadie spoken. From hence wee passe backwards againe to the Almes House (sometyme called the Tenement of <Segrim>) right over against Ch. Ch. great Gate, where wee see, on our right hand, the Church of St. Aldate.'

In Brewers Street several features of interest have been already noted, and now Hutten explains to what parts it led. The name Littlegate is still current in our own days; and though the gate itself has disappeared, Skelton has engraved it from an old drawing. It differed little from the other gates, but the frequent mention of its being let by the city as a lodging-house is noticeable. Nearly every bastion in the city walls seems, at some time or other, to have been converted into rooms, by partitioning the original small galleries leading to the different ranges of crenelles or openings. One or two ends of rafters still exist in the walls of the bastion towards Holywell gallows; and in the Bishops' bastion the whole of the beams and rafters could, till within the last fifty years, be seen as they had existed for three centuries at least. A rental of the City, 1323 (Tw. 23, p. 237), shows us to what class the lodgers over the gate belonged; 13s. 4d. from the scholars at Littlegate for the solar; students of law most probably. Two years later (*ibid.*), From the Principal for the chamber at Littlegate towards the Friars Preachers 8s. In 1405 (Tw. 23, p. 240), From the house over Littlegate near the Friars Preachers which William Copeland lately held 8s. 4d.; which Twyne rubricates as 'Scholars, house or chamber.' In 1409 (*ibid.* p. 242) is a like entry. In 1448 (*ibid.* p. 393), from Charters in the City Collection, parish of St. Ebbe, we read:—Richard Spragot, mayor, and the whole community lease a chamber over the gate near the Friars Minors, with two rooms there under it. The room over the outside South gate became a Berkshire court, and that over Bocardo a prison.

The Almshouse also has been noticed, and modern research has perhaps done nothing to refute the idea that this was 'Segrim's' Tenement, which is clearly the word that Hutten omitted. Mr. Maclean (*Hist. of Pemb. Coll.* c. 1) has pretty satisfactorily proved that besides the *domus*, the great house of Robert Segrym at the rear of the Almshouse, there was a tenement of Richard Segrym upon the site of the Almshouse itself, and a house also owned by him in

the angle of the churchyard; and houses are represented there, in Natte's drawings, as late as 1808. The interest attaching to the name mainly arises from the fact that, in Domesday, three Segrims are registered as owners of mansions, but none of them held a mural mansion, though above two hundred persons held their mansions free because they were bound to repair the wall.

Hutten quotes Speed as his authority for the account he gives of Aldate or Eldad; but Speed took it from that most impure source, Geoffrey of Monmouth, as to whom one cannot do better than consult Mr. Parker's *Early Oxford*, p. 8.

As to the name Saint **Aldate**—Olave, Told, Tole, Old, and Hold are other corrupted forms—the existence of any saint named Eldad has at all times been much questioned, and most people join Mr. Parker (*Early Oxford*, p. 293) in putting down the name and the legend as an invention of the twelfth century. The hagiology even of British saints is not so defective as to have omitted the name for hundreds of years. The position near an old gate of Oxford, perhaps called *The old gate* when, as we have seen, that across the main stream of the Thames was built; the fact that Aldgate is the name of a street in London, that Aldgate is known to be convertible into Aldyate and Aldate, and that the only other church dedicated to such a Saint (that at Gloucester) is near an old gate, all cast a suspicion on the name. We have already (p. 43) met, in the parish just south of this, with one member of the family 'Att yate,' probably taking its name from the South gate hard by. We know that the various Broadgate halls had each a second spelling Broadyate. Besides this, when we remember that four other churches of ours have, as is customary in other towns, a second name to point out locality, as St. Peter in the Bailey, St. Michael's at North Gate; and that Carfax Church, i.e. the church at Carfax, was and is more frequently so called than St. Martin's; then it becomes by no means improbable that here, the church of some saint 'at old gate,' 'Ald-gate,' or 'Aldate,' has, like others, lost its dedication name and retained its position name only. We happen to know, from a kalendar of the fifteenth century (Tw. 23, p. 133), that the dedication day was the same day as that of St. Edmund the King, i.e. November 20; it wants but the name of the church put out in full, say, as *St. Edmund's* (or St. Olave's) *church at the Ald-yate*, in some well authenticated document, and the question will be settled. Besides its fringe of houses along the north, and along most of the east side, the

churchyard of St. Aldate once had in it a detached chapel, dedicated to the Holy Saviour, a thing of which no other churchyard in Oxford could ever boast. The will of John Fitzalan, mayor of Oxford in 1449-50, was registered in the mayor's court in 1454 (Tw. 23, p. 535), and by it he leaves to his wife and two executors the advowson of the chantry of his chapel, situated in the churchyard of St. Aldate adjoining the church of the same. Another will (Tw. 23, p. 149), registered in 1456, is that of John Wylmot, who wishes his body to be buried in the new chapel of St. Saviour near the church of St. Aldate. Whether the church extended and embraced this, which then became the West Chapel, cannot now be determined; but we have no view in which it is shown detached. So much of the church has been renewed, that it is worth while calling attention to the original crypt under the Ducklington or south aisle; but the arches have been flattened, and the floor raised about two feet. Its groining ribs die into the pilaster like those of Bulkley Hall, under the houses 106 and 107 High Street, a better preserved specimen of the same arrangement.

P. 118. 'In this Church there is a Chappell of newer building then it selfe, but the Founder or Builder thereof I doe not find. It is peculier and propper to Broadgates, where they daily meete for the celebration of Divine Service. There is in this Chappell a Tomb of Alabaster, under which is entombed the bodie of John Noble Doctor of the Civill Law, and in his time Principall of Broadgates, and Officiall to the Archdeacon of Berkshire.'

The 'newer' chapel was Ducklington's, occupying about three quarters of the present south aisle, and reaching to an arch at the east which has ornamental tracery over it, being the upper part of a former east window. It was till 1732 the chapel of Pembroke College. The monument to Noble now stands in a recess north of the chancel, as if he had been the founder of it. Hutten does not notice the eleventh century arcade, once in the chancel, now east of the north aisle, a nice example of early Norman very little damaged; nor does he mention the Law Library over Ducklington's aisle, a strange and not a becoming adjunct to the parish church, though it appears to have been a fair example of the Perpendicular style. It was removed in 1842.

P. 118. 'On the left hand standeth the old and auntient Hall Broadgates, now weary of it's former name, and stiled by the title of Pembroke Colledge by King James, not long before his death. From thence proceeding further, there is another Hall called Beefe Hall, not inhabited with anie Schollars, but become the Tenement of some private person.'

Both Broadgates and Beef Hall are now included in the site of Pembroke College. Mr. Maclean's diagram (*Hist. of Pemb. Coll.* 48) gives an adequate notion of these and the other halls and places on the site, in illustration of what Hutten here says, and of what Agas's map represents.

P. 119. 'This Lane also leadeth downe to Litle-gate, and both the forenamed Friers on the left hand, and to St. Ebb's Church Corner on the right, where standing wee see backwards towards Ch. Ch. Penny Farthing Streete, on the left hand the West gate of the City, leading downe to St. Thomas Parish, and before us, on both sides, the Litle Baylie, and St. Peter's Church in the Great Bayly.' (P. 120.) 'From thence goeing onward to St. Peter's, wee goe through the Litle Baylie to the Great Baylie, wherein that Church standeth, of which Saint wee need speake noething, because hee is sufficiently knowne by the Scripture.'

Issuing at the west end of Beef Lane, we are in St. Ebbe's Street, formerly Mill or Milk Street, whose southern part takes us over Trill Mill stream by the old bridge near the tan-yard into Albion Place, near which the Black Friars' mill was lately traced. Their burying-place and chapel have already been spoken of. The north part of the same street is about twice as long, St. Ebbe's Church standing in it where it is intersected by Pembroke Street and Church Street. The first of these streets was formerly Pennyfarthing Street, and the second Friars' or Friern Street; Pennyfarthing from the name of an old family there resident; Friern because it led by the Grey Friars to the Friars of Penitence.

St. Ebbe's Church, St. Mildred's, and St. Edward's form a trio of churches dedicated to English saints; we have seen an attempt made in the case of St. Aldate's to establish a fourth dedication to a British one. **St. Ebbe's** underwent rebuilding in 1814, a little before St. Martin's; and, like it, was builders' Gothic. Its character

can be fairly judged from portions on the north side. In 1865 it underwent treatment and extension at the hands of Mr. Street, at a time when the mania for Italian Gothic was very strong. Hence very little of the early church remains. Its diminutive tower at the west end is almost hidden, but seems to be Early English; but a beautiful and tolerably complete Norman doorway has been preserved as a memorial, and now stands on the south side of the church. The size of the old gables can be estimated from inspecting the west face. We have already (*supra*, p. 27) noticed the gift of St. Ebbe's Church to Eynsham Abbey. Its dedication day by the old calendar (Tw. 23, p. 133) was October 15, and not April 1, St. Ebba's feast. In the will of Robert Keneysham, Bedel of the University, in 1430 (Tw. 23, p. 478), he mentions Richard Cumber, the water-bearer of the church of St. Ebbe. In 1575 the City orders (*ibid.* p. 594) the Bailiffs and Chamberlains to view the dunghill by St. Ebbe's Church, as to its being enclosed or leased.

St. Ebbe's churchyard must have been near the east boundary of the **Grey Friars**, but diligent inquiry along most of the line from it towards Paradise, the garden or park of the Penitentiary Friars, has failed in finding out anything like a place of interment. It is in the churchyard of the Franciscans that we must look for the grave of the greatest genius of the thirteenth century, the renowned Friar Bacon (*vide City*, ii. 408; cf. *Pl.* 76-8). That the Grey Friars had their first abode somewhere at the end of Beef Lane, not west of the Dominicans (as in Hutten, p. 88; *Pl.* 75), is pretty clear from Wood (*City*, ii. 357). As to their second enlarged abode, the Patent Rolls 29 Henry III, 1244 (*ibid.* 360), show that for their security and comfort they might enclose the street which reaches under the wall of Oxon from the gate which is called Water Gate¹ in the parish of St. Ebbe as far as the little postern of the same wall towards the Castle, provided that a crenelated wall like to the rest of the wall of the same town (*municipii*) be made around the aforesaid habitation, beginning from the west side of the said Water Gate and extending southward to the bank of Tamisia², and, extending thence upon the same bank westward, unto the fee of the abbot of Bec, in the parish of St. Bodhoc, turn again northwards until it join the old wall

¹ Another name for Littlegate.

² This is well known to be the old name used for all the branches of the river. Here it is Trill Mill stream, *vide* the King's third grant—'branch of the Thames' (*ibid.* 361).

of the said burgh near the east side of the aforementioned little postern. The western wall of this new enclosure may have been near the present Paradise Square, but neither the position of the little postern, nor the extent of St. Budoc's parish can be defined. Further, the king permitted them, for the purpose of joining the new place with the old, to throw down as much of the old wall as reached their abode extended within the same, always reserving to himself and his heirs kings of England a free passage through the middle of the new place whenever they come there. Two months later, the king granted them leave to close up the street under the wall, to add to their security and quiet; the north side of the chapel, built or to be built in that street, being allowed to fill up the break in the wall as far as it ought to reach; all the other breaches in the wall being restored as before, except a small postern in the wall for the brethren to go and return by, from the new place in which they then dwelt to the former place where they used to dwell. In April, 1245, came a further grant, for the extension of the ground in which the Friars Minors have newly begun to dwell, of that 'island of ours¹, which we have bought of Henry, son of Henry Simeon,' with permission to them that they may make a bridge across that branch of the Thames, which runs between the said island and their houses, and that they may enclose the said island with a wall or otherwise, for their security and the tranquillity of their religion. Another Patent Roll of Edward II in 1310 (*City*, ii. 361) grants to them the site of the Friars of Penitence, an Order lately dispersed, whereby their land had come into the king's hands. The streams have altered so much in this part of the suburbs that the added island cannot be certainly identified, but most likely it was the triangular island just south of Trill Mill stream, where it passes by Paradise Square. This island has a wide stream with a decided curve on its western edge, and a filled-up brook, corresponding almost with the modern Friars' Street, to the south of it. West Gate is distinctly shown in Agas, and there is a sharp angle in the boundary between two parishes at its site, i.e. where Castle Street meets Church Street.

Somewhere near this gate was the **New Market**, defined in 1448 (V. p. 551) as near the Castle. It was leased in 1571 (Tw. 23, p. 181) with the Swannes Nest², still the property of the City, where Trill

¹ The references to this transaction are here obscure, but clearly relate to some island across Trill Mill stream, and therefore lying to the south.

² The City kept a flock of swans, no doubt bred for the table. In a lease of

Mill stream commences. From Wood's description, this market faced the old entrance to the Castle, which is now a *cul-de-sac* near the lower end of Castle Street.

As to the halls once in Friern Street, i. e. from St. Ebbe's Church to West Gate, we have these: (1) **Frideswyde Hall**, which from a document of St. John's Hospital (V. p. 204) must have been close opposite the church: 'A mese joyning to Frideswide in St. Ebb's parish against the west end of the churchyard on the north side of the street there' (1486). This was an Academic Hall, and the names of five principals are given in the records of Convocation (*City*, i. 592). (2) Farther west, and facing the Friars Minors, was Noif's house, or Coif or **Cof Hall** (Tw. 23, p. 146). It is placed by Wood (F. 33) opposite to St. Ebbe's Church. The three or four mentions of **White Hall** and **Selverne Hall** are not precise enough to give us their localities; they are in this parish, and perhaps near here.

Having looked east and west from St. Ebbe's Church, we continue along the northern part of the street once the Little Bailey, and here we wish to place **Carole Hall**. It is one for which we have a mass of documents (Reg. Coll. Exon, ed. Boase, O. H. S. xxxvii, pp. 298-310). It belonged for some years to Exeter College, but when the College parted with it is not recorded. In no instance is it described as a corner property. Forty-two deeds put it down as in the parish of St. Peter in the West; fifteen of them give us east and west boundaries, thereby implying that it must be in the upper part of Castle Street; seven give us north and south boundaries; thirteen give us names of owners otherwise almost unknown, and two give us an eastern boundary only; five give, as a south boundary, land of St. John's Hospital, and Magdalen still holds property there—nos. 33 and 34, on the west of St. Ebbe's Street, i. e. the third and fourth houses from the north end. We may, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, place Carole Hall as the second house on that side. With regard to its being apparently in two streets at once, the difficulty may be met by remembering that a tenement of L shape can be so. **Vine Hall** was also near here—but where, we have no clue. In 1333 (O. p. 59) it is described as in this parish, and apparently in Little Bailey Street. **Billyng Hall**, opposite to St. Peter-le-Bailey

1576 (Tw. 23, p. 595), he who 'had the game of them' was to provide four fat ones every year and leave six old ones at the end of his lease. Another lease contracts for 'twelve swannes to be left for breed.'

Church, is one which is worth locating, because of the curious story preserved by Wood (Bodley MS. 474). John de Tynemouth, *Speculum Laicorum*, p. 71—In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 1298 at Oxford in the parish of St. Peter in Balliolo, in a certain underground cellar near the highway facing the parish church, was an inn which was called Bylyngushall. It happened that a certain clerk, a student of necromancy, wrought a circle with figures and inscriptions, according to the practice of that art, for the summoning of a demon; sat down in the middle of his circles, and, as that art instructs, began at once to invoke the devil. When he came in a visible form and went round and round the circle, that clerk with his conjuring put many questions to the devil, and while the devil, in obedience to the adjuration, was making answer to them, it happened that the chaplain of the same parish, as he was carrying the divine Body to a certain sick person, came into the cellar, and the devil seeing him through the window, when the chaplain drew near, at once reverently bent both knees and raised his arms until he had passed by. The clerk noticed this, and committed the event quietly to heart. Nevertheless, he continued some time with the demon discussing questions, until the time that the chaplain returned and no longer carried the host. As he passed by, the devil bent again humbly, but this time on one knee only. The student, as he saw this, adjured the devil to reveal the reason for bending two knees to the priest as he went, and only one as he returned; and he unwillingly enough confessed that he was forced, will he, nill he, to do so, and to show this honour to the body of his Lord which the priest was carrying; therefore he bent both knees at the first passing. He admitted too that he ought to respect the chaplain in some way as a minister of his Lord, and at the return of the priest without carrying the host, he knelt upon one knee. Thereupon the student was much disturbed, and came thereby to the conclusion that God was much the greater, and that Christ should be his Lord. To this the devil at once assented, and the scholar giving up the devil (and his pay too according to the custom in necromancy) renounced the art, burnt all his treatises upon the science, repented, confessed and took the habit of St. Francis.—As said before, the site is not easily found, though we know that it was a church house in 1284 *m.*, and (V. p. 551) Wood noted that to his day it was an offering house. The neighbouring occupiers east and west, at that time, were John de Hanekynton and John de Eu, tenants who do not occur in the long

list of documents about Carole Hall. The words 'facing the parish church' must be taken literally, and the words 'east part' and 'west part' can only apply to a tenement in the present Queen Street. Bylling Hall is mentioned 1479 (O. p. 77) in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Peter-le-Bailey as the house of Edward Wood, mayor 1488, paying 5*s.* rent. This would be the year's offerings, fifty-two Sundays at 1*d.*, and 8*d.* additional for great feasts.

P. 120. 'In this place alsoe wee have another quadrapartite waie, where, on the left hand, wee may diserne the entrance into the Castle of St. George. And a litle beyond that, the West gate of the Cittie, which before wee have discryed. (P. 121.) From St. Ebb's Church directly before us looking towards Bocardo, wee see on our right hand those poore Tenements, called the Seaven deadly Sinns, and the Back sides of St. Marie's Colledge, and those Houses which are in the Corne Markett; on the left, the Hall called New Inn, with poore Tenements and Gardens till you come to Bocardo.'

The first quadripartite way was that where now Pembroke Street and Church Street intersect St. Ebbe's Street; the second is that having now as its four arms Castle Street, New Inn Hall Street, Queen's Street, and St. Ebbe's. As St. Martin's, All Saints', and St. Mary's churches mark the intersecting streets, so here a church stands at the angle. Such a Carfox, if on a small scale, was once, as we shall see, termed a 'twychen.' Hutten supposes us to have come from the south, hence to the left hand would be Castle Street, and halfway down it towards West Gate would be the **Castle entrance**. The bridge over the Castle fosse was about eighty feet long, if we trust William of Worcester. It shows best in Loggan, and was an important way before the New Road was made, 1766, to take the place of one which led round by New Bridge over Quaking Bridge, where it divided, one branch going up Titmouse Lane, the other straight to St. Thomas' Church.

The castle which we have in Agas is the best representation of the old enclosure. It included besides the early tower of 1071, built by Robert D'Oilly, five other towers along the walls, one of which near West Gate is often drawn round in plan, and also a keep on the mound, in the style of King John or Henry III. The tower which

remains, called **St. George's** from having been joined to the Chapel of St. George's College within the precincts, is peculiar in four points at least. It has traces of six doorways above the lead roof, providing means of access to the 'hourdes' (hoarding) with which the towers and walls of most early castles were crowned, wooden sheds along the walls covered with raw hides, easily put up, easily stowed away, and provided with holes in front for the cross-bow men, and with openings in the floor for pouring down stones, melted pitch, or boiling oil, upon those who threatened to undermine the walls. The highest room in it seems in old times to have had no window, and to have been lighted only by a square hole in the roof. From this circumstance and from the massive corbels which support its floor the idea has suggested itself that this was the store-place for the timbers of the hoarding, fire-proof and readily accessible. The newelled staircase is peculiar in construction. The treads are thin stone slabs resting on a grouted arch twined round a cylindrical newel of stone, and the wall enclosing it is most peculiar in horizontal section; the stairs begin at about twelve feet from the ground, and there are six places (often called 'steps') in which the wall suddenly narrows. The uppermost of these, nearly a foot in width, is that on which the flooring of the hound rested; the second, a narrow one, is that on which struts were placed to support the floor, like brackets; this is made narrow, so as not to interfere with the discharge of missiles through the floor. The walls of the tower at the bottom are fully nine feet thick, and at the top about four feet, and this great difference is due mainly to the setting back of the exterior face by the 'steps,' of which there are about two to each floor¹. The masonry is of very rude character, but well grouted together, the surface of mortar often showing an area double that of the stones embedded in it. Just before Wood's time, a second

¹ I quote from an old memorandum: 'Every drawing of the stepping of the Castle tower is incorrect. Buckler's gives the best impression of the whole. The total height seems to be about 74 ft., in seven divisions, thus—

I	Stage at top, with doorways,	9 ft.,	step out at foot,	10 in. flat.
II	"	"	"	6 " "
III	"	"	"	21 " "
IV	"	"	"	9 " "
V	"	"	"	6 " "
VI	"	"	"	5 " "
VII	"	"	"	18 ft. to water above mill.
				74 ft.
				3 ft. 4 in.

Thickness said to be 9 ft. 4 in. at bottom, seems to be 4 ft. 1 in. at top, this leaves 5 ft. 3 in. total decrease of thickness, less 3 ft. 4 in. total decrease by the stepping. N.B. This is guess-work; total height is about 82 ft.'

mill stream was cut under the west wall, and its northern end passed through the old cemetery of St. George's College (*vide Pl.* pp. 61-63). No better engraving of the tower has been made than that by Buckler (*Gent. Mag.*, 1832), but he does not make enough of the steps. Loggan not only ignores these, but also the stair-turret at the north-east. If this was ever used as a bell-tower for the college chapel, it was certainly never built with that intention, as it is considerably out of line with the wall at its west end. There was three years' interval between the building of the tower and of the college. At about eighty feet to the east, or rather east-by-north of the tower, an early crypt was discovered at the building of the new Gaol; this was carefully dug out by the Governor of the Gaol, and was to have been replaced within about eighteen inches of its former site—whether accurately as regards east and west, is not known. There is, however, some evidence for believing that it was set still further out of its old position, perhaps as much as an entire bay. The capitals of the four dwarf pillars which support the groining are interesting, as they each have four small blocks projecting under the abacus at the middle, just where the *tau* cross occurs in early Romanesque work. These clearly belong to quite a different school of design from the quaint examples at St. Peter's in the East. This crypt was formerly under the apse at the east of St. George's Chapel. In rebuilding, the curve at the east was neglected. It must have been merely straightened, not built convex, as seems to be Dr. Ingram's idea of the change. The chapel above—which had a round end, in which were three Norman windows placed high in the curved wall—is plainly shown in a drawing of Burghers at the end of the preface to Hearne's *William of Newbury*, 1719; in a drawing by Malchair, 1772, in private hands; and also in Grose (*Antiq.* iv. p. 182), 1785. In Loggan it seems to be without a roof. King (*Munimenta*, pl. 130, 1795) gives us a few details of the west wall of the nave of the chapel. As the tower was never used as a residence, being originally almost without windows—those that are there being almost all of later date—the royal lodgings would be elsewhere in the garth, and would soon go to ruin after Henry I had erected Beaumont Palace.

One other building demands our attention, as it has historical associations, the oldest and most interesting of any in Oxford. This was the **Sessions-house**, the place of meeting near the King's palace, in which the plots were ripened, the peace-makings confirmed, which

make Oxford so prominent a town just before the Conquest. Of the site of this building, so famous in Elizabeth's days for a remarkable outburst of gaol fever, we can form but an indistinct idea. It was east of the centre of the mound, and nearer to it than to the great entrance tower at the south-east. The cutting of the New Road, if we may trust Malchair's sketch—he was very careful as a rule—passed close to its foundations. About two years ago, good walling was found opposite to the present County Court entrance, nearly under the road fence, but whether it was the eastern or western end of a building, could not be determined, as it was a mere fragment. Judging from Agas, Loggan, and Malchair, the Sessions House was nearer to the mound than this walling would indicate, but it must not be forgotten that the edge of the hill has been much pushed back on every side. Small it most probably was, though the little 'pay-shed' of Agas close under the hill cannot be accepted as accurate, and the Christ Church drawing gives it about three bays and a half more. The style in this drawing and in Burghers' sketch seems to be like that of King Stephen's days, but two sketches of its remains just before it was destroyed indicate Tudor windows with arches and pilasters, probably Palladian, or it may be late Norman modified. These interiors clear up one point, viz. that there was a semicircular space at one end. The semicircular arches in the Christ Church drawing were probably not representations of what the draughtsman had seen, but imaginary work such as fashion then demanded. There was a southern wing attached to the west end, the roof of which is shown correctly in Agas. In Whittlesey it might be mistaken for a turret.

We will conclude these notes on the Castle by visiting the mound, on which stood a ten-sided **keep**, much as Agas draws it, but of course not upon such a precipice. Agas and the Christ Church drawing both represent it as having ten sides, presenting in each case four sides to the spectator; an etching by Daniel King, whose other work is far from exact, temp. Car. I (Gough Coll. v. 26, p. 81), alone makes it octagonal; King's excavations almost decide that it was decagonal. The point deserves notice, as it had till lately become a fashion to deny that anything more than the ruined circular wall of stone ever existed on the mound; but about a year ago Mr. Clark found among the Wood MSS. (F. 39, fo. 200) a letter from John Aubrey, the antiquary (the same who preserved for us the representation of Osney Abbey), in which he draws

a ten-sided building not quite so high as Agas's, and having windows higher up in the walls, round-headed, and more resembling such castles as that at Odiham, and also without the two projecting pieces which Whittlesey has changed into nondescript buttresses; a huge crack threatens to let one third of the structure slip away. The sketch is reproduced in Clark's edition of Aubrey's *Lives*, vol. ii. pl. I a. This interesting little sketch which, to a very great extent, explains Agas's map of the keep, was sent by Aubrey to Wood with the remark, 'Will you not expresse the building of the keepe of the Castle which was not long since taken downe. It had such a crack, if not another on the other side of the dore or gate. This side <with the door in it> faced the South or S. and by E. I have forgott if it had six sides or eight as here, but I beleeve eight.'

Under the mound, about twenty feet from the surface, is a groined chamber of Transitional design, covering up a well, very deep, solely for water, as a careful inspection of the sides has proved; the water, however, has been drained away by the sewers constructed during the main drainage scheme. In digging for the foundations, there was found in the courtyard a very interesting series of Danish and Saxon horse-shoes, now in the Ashmolean Museum.

The extent of the old limits of the Castle has at various times been proved to be much about that which Agas gives. At the Salvation Army barracks in Castle Street, the old fosse could be traced by its black mud, still moist, full thirty feet wide and almost twenty feet deep. From this fosse, when it extended round to the south end of the canal bridge, there must have been extracted many cubic yards of gravel, which doubtless went to raise the Castle mound. Somewhere at the north-west of this circle of water was, as it would seem, a second approach to the enclosure. Henry de Tywe (Tew) grants, c. 1236, to William le Franceis in free marriage with Alice his sister, his north house with a curtilage which he took in fee of Nicholas Miller, which house is near the outside draw-bridge (*forinsecum pontem tractabilem*) towards the north of the castle of Oxford, and faces towards the Thames (the Aldwere?) and the water ditch of the castle; Witnesses, Peter son of Torold then mayor of Oxford, Alewic and Adam son of Walter then provosts, and seven others. 'The writing seems to be of the time of King John, note that noe parish is mentioned where the said tenement is.' (Wood O. p. 49.) The reason for the destruction of so much of the Castle was not clearly known

even in Wood's days. In his *Life* (O. H. S. xix. p. 170) we read, 'The year 1650 and 1651 coll. Draper, being Governor of Oxon, sleighted the worke about the city, and fortified the Castle very strong and almost impregnable—which cost noe smal labor, and cost (some say) to the value of 2 thousand pounds. But for all that, when the Scots invaded Eng. in the latter end of July and the August following, 1651; whether by coll. Draper's policy (or, as was thought, his engineer was greased in the fist) or some other ting moving him therto, he sleighted also the Castle wokes' &c.

One quaint fifteenth century structure only remains to us in Castle Street, a short way down on the left, still having its old stone doorway. It was called **White Hall**, and is at present an inn, No. 12. In the spandrel of the doorway are still the arms of D'Oilly. It has lost its early chimney, and some Tudor windows on the first floor also; but the beams of some of the rooms, though late in date, are worth seeing. The house to the east of it, on the same side, was of extremely small dimensions, but it had a high gable. A thirteenth century stone doorway on the east side was saved, when the house was taken down, by the City Surveyor, and he has provided for its re-erection in the premises at the rear. The little pointed roof of the house was at one time supported by a good Gothic framing, of which a fragment remained. Early in the seventeenth century its front had been pargeted in a simple pattern, resembling that of No. 23 Pembroke Street, and it had a square of more ornamental work over the main window. There is now a new house on the site. This street has another good specimen of external ornamental pargeting, on the opposite side of the way, on the front of Nos. 41 and 42, a double house, west of Bath Place¹, New Road.

vi. North-West of the City.

St. Peter-le-Bailey Church stood at the south-west corner of New Inn Hall Lane. By undermining the walls with graves, the parishioners succeeded in 1706 in letting the church fall down. From Agas it would appear to have been a short church, with nave and chancel under one roof, and a tower on the south side. As

¹ Bath Place is a part of Bullock's Alley, cut off from the rest by the New Road.

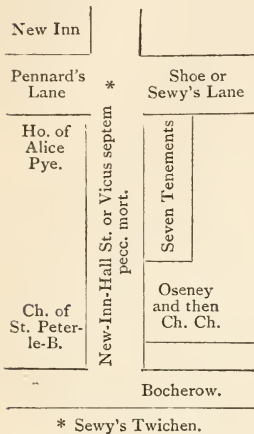
soon, however, as we turn to Loggan, a man of much more artistic power, who probably resided in Oxford much longer than Agas, we find three roofs, a tower in the middle of these, the same windows as in Agas, looking north, and the same door opening northward. Although at St. Ebbe's Church Agas's representation is confirmed by early prints, still it seems safer here to call Agas careless than to suppose that in seventy years such great changes have been made and have not been recorded in history. In 1766 the New Road was made, turning rather sharply round the south side of the new church, a plain square preaching-room, which, strange to say, no one applauded for 'its chasteness and simplicity.' This awkward obstacle gave way to a City improvement, and a portion of the site was thrown into the street. In its removal a few fragments of Norman carving were appropriated by a mason, and these are now to be seen in a wall close to Bullock's Alley, in a passage on the south side of the present church of St. Peter-le-Bailey. (The word 'Bailey' demands some explanation. Many castles had outside their gates a space which, though not walled in, was under the castellan's rule; this was his ballium or Bailey, a name that has survived in many towns.) The church, though apparently of small size, no larger indeed than the one which disappeared in our own time, had several chantries and chapels attached to it, and had fairly good possessions in the way of houses and rents. The first authentic notice of the church is believed to be that in the Patent Rolls of 1318, wherein the King gives leave to Robert of Worminghall to found a chantry. Then in 1340 (City Rolls), we find that Frideswide Pennard built here a chapel of ou Lady. She died in 1348, leaving her body to be buried in the Churchyard of St. Peter in the Bailey (City Wills, V. p. 255). Then, next year (Tw. 23, p. 336), we have the will of Margaret Pirie; she leaves the tenement she dwells in to her executors to be sold for the good of her soul in masses to be celebrated in the Church of St. Peter in the Bailey. There was here, in 1455 (City Wills, Tw. 23, p. 536), a chapel of St. Clement. William White, baker, after directing that his body should be buried in the Church of St. Peter in the Bailey, under St. Clement's light, near his seat by the door of the chapel of St. Clement, goes on to leave to Thomas his son two continuous tenements situated on the north side of the street of the Bailey, between a tenement of St. Frideswide on the west and a little lane which leads near the cemetery of the same church, on the east. Wood adds, 'Unless

I am mistaken it leads into Bullock's Lane.' St. Clement was a popular saint among sailors and boatmen. There was a fishers' bell rung at this church twice every day till 1560, at four in the morning and eight in the evening (*Bal.* p. 29). In 1466 (*V.* p. 163) we have a note of a St. Andrew's Chapel in St. Peter-le-Bailey Church, and elsewhere are references to its chaplains. As to Bullock's Lane, which seems more likely to have been a western than an eastern boundary, we have several writings to show who Bullock was and what was his occupation. Besides this, we know that he lived among his rubbish heaps further towards The Mounts. The lane is never in old documents called Bulwarks' Lane. Pennard's Lane, or Pennarth's, was not much to the north of the churchyard. We shall find that Frideswide Pennarth (*Tw.* 23, p. 336) held Rose Hall in it; and if such a lane ran west to or towards the Castle ditch, it would account for the abrupt angle still made there by the parish boundaries. The church had in it a notable memorial. In *Twyne* (23, p. 578) we read:—'In a brasse plate uppon a marble stone in ye same Church (St. Peter-le-Bailey) "Hic jacet Will^{us} de Luteburgh alio nomine dictus Northerne civis Oxoniae qui fuit Maior ejusdem villae tempore coronationis Regis Ricⁱ 2ⁱ et obiit a^o dñi 1383 in die nativitatis Virginis gloriosae et cum eo jacet Margareta uxor sua: quorum animabus propitietur deus. Amen.": which inscription seemeth to imply that this Mayor wayted at K. Richard ye second's coronation accordinge to a libertie granted to ye citizens of Oxford by Henry ye second.' The upper and lower parts of New Inn Hall Street, Pennard's Lane to the left, and Sewy's Lane to the right, would constitute, where they crossed, Sewy's Twychen.

The tenements of the **Seven deadly sins**, according to Hutten, must be on the right hand about here, nor is this contrary to passages in other books, though their authors hesitate. Wood, it is to be supposed, did not fully believe in Hutten's view, when he sought for this lane with the evil name, down by New Market (*City*, i. 208). On going over the matter, it seems to be one of those instances in which he either overlooked a point, or had not time fully to correct his MS. of the City. There is not much doubt that Seven Deadly Sins Lane was the southern end of the present New Inn Hall Street. In 1477 (*V.* p. 552), 'Nicholas Temple of Shepen Co: Leicester, Esq^{re} & Joane his wife lately ye wife of Benedict Stokes of Oxon doth with the consent of Tho. Chaundler clerk (of New College) Joh. Stokes & Will Faukes give and grant to Richard Howes

and John Howes seven cottages in St. Peter Bailey between the lane leading from the great Bayly to North gate strete on the west and the land of All Souls Coll. which Henry Bathe inhabiteth on the east and the little lane which leadeth from North gate Strete to the New inne lately called Trillocks yn on the North and a garden ground

belonging to Oseney on the South.’ The diagram will explain this. From the New College charters, 1558 (V. p. 256), Robert Forrest and William Forrest were inhabitants in St. Peter-le-Bailey by New Inn, the former a sadler, the other a baker. To this Wood adds a note to the effect that John Underhill A. M., son of Elizabeth Forrest the widow of Robert Forrest named above, afterwards Bishop of Oxon, being then Fellow of New College, had this house on the south side of New Inn conveyed to him, and by him afterwards to several Fellows of New College. Wood also notes (*ibid.*), ‘The Lane by New-in called 7 deadly sinns vel vicus septem peccatorum mortalium 14 Eliz.’



More than a third of the middle of the west side of this street was occupied down to 1896 by the buildings of New Inn Hall. Wood gives a short history of the place (*Colleges and Halls*, p. 676), and Loggan has drawn the front with its central portion very much as it remained till our days. The buildings may for convenience be classed in three groups, a fourth, west of the area behind, having disappeared. The first and most southern of these, a Tudor building of two storeys, capped by a third storey of lath and plaster, faced Pennard's Lane. Its west front is shown in the Oxford Almanac of 1750; when sketched in 1893, only two of the old thirteen Tudor windows could be traced—modern taste and sash windows had demolished the others. The second block was more medieval in character, and was below the pavement. This part, from its age, passed as the old mint of Charles the First's time. It had work in it of every period, from the early thirteenth century downwards. A little gem of a capital, of spirited and graceful design, found there, has been deposited in the Ashmolean. The third was a Palladian structure, now successfully converted into the Hannington Memorial Hall. At the rear of this part was a small

chapel erected not more than forty years ago, and lately removed when the Hall came to an end.

As to the site, it would include four ancient messuages and a garden; and since we have just witnessed the decease of the hall, some kind of an obituary notice may well follow. **Rose Hall**, which probably occupied the south-east angle, was in 1352 (Tw. 23, p. 336) devised by its owner, whom we have noticed before, Frideswide Pennarght, to the proctors of St. Peter-le-Bailey Church for the support of the chantry of the Blessed Mary erected in the same by license of the King; it is called Le Rose Hall. In 1349 (V. p. 255) the same Frideswyde, described as daughter and heir of William Pennard, granted to John, Bishop of Hereford, and Thomas Trilleck his brother, all her rents and tenements in Oxford in the parish of St. Peter in the Bailey. In 1366 (ibid.) Thomas de Trilleck, Bishop of Rochester, granted the same to Mr. Hugh Pembrigge, Mr. Roger Otery, and Walter Brown, parson of St. Magnus, London. In 1369, the last two of these granted it to Wm. of Wykeham. In 1391 in a release of rights (ibid.) we find it called **Trillekesynne**, and in the same year William of Wykeham grants two messuages called Trilleckynnes, three gardens adjacent and one messuage called Rose Hall and one garden adjacent, to the warden and scholars of New Colledge. The property having now come to New Colledge, we find in their accounts charges for repairs done, 1392 (V. p. 273), to Tryllockynnes and Rose Hall. A bailiff's account of 1397 (V. p. 280) charges for a slater employed for nineteen days for the chapel and great chamber, repairing damages caused by the wind, and part roofing the great chambers. In 1398 (ibid.), under the Inn's accounts, moneys are paid to the monk of Trillock's yn. In 1400 (V. p. 281), Rose Hall paid no rent, and then in 1403 we find (ibid.) that the Carmelites had rooms here: when the Lord the Warden and others the fellows of the college forgave the white monks of Trillock's yn, 22s. 8d. from the past year's rent. A little further on, we find that Rose Hall ceases to pay rent, and in 1412 (V. p. 280) 'there was £48 and odde money bestowed for a new edifice, but what it was and where it certainly appears not.' There are many like notes of Twyne and Wood, but to have shown the beginning of the name New Inn Hall is all that is required of us here.

By Hutten's expression, 'the Back sides of St. Marie's Colledge' we are to understand the premises in the rear, for it must be remembered that the gardens of the modern Frewin Hall reach up to Shoe

Lane, just as in former days the back premises of the College reached up to Sewy's Lane.

P. 71. 'The fowerth house of this Order of Black Augustinian Monkes Regular, was St. Mary Colledge, scited betweene the North end of the Corne Markett and Bocardo on the West side of the Streete within a perticuler lane leading thereunto, of the North side of the Inn called the Starr, which of this Colledge is called St. Mary Lane. It was builded by Thomas Houlden, Esquire, and Elizabeth his wife, about the yeare. 1448.' (P. 72.) 'It consisted of one Prior and certaine Students Novices, beeing subordinated to the Monasterie of Osney, and trayned upp there in good Arts, 'till they might be fitt to be admitted into the greater Abby. Their habitt differed somewhat from the older Monkes, to signifie that they were but young beginners. In testimonie whereof there is yet to this daie standing a faire Hall, to what uses imployed I doe not know.'

Of **St. Mary's College** little is left—a west gateway of the style of about 1440, a few remains of groining on the south side of the gate entrance, the wall facing the street north of the gate, and some reputed remains in the cellar of a house two or three doors to the south. Besides this, there is a fairly well supported tradition of the roof of Brasenose College chapel having been taken from the chapel here. Here Erasmus, the great scholar, resided about 1497; and it was the broad garden of this College, which checked the great fire of 1644. Its history can be found in Wood's *City*, ii. pp. 228-245. After passing through various hands, it became the residence of Dr. Richard Frewin, lessee under Brasenose College, who largely improved it and gave it the name of Frewin Hall. From his death in 1761, it was for nearly a century the official residence of the Regius Professor of Medicine. In 1860 it was occupied by the Prince of Wales, and it is now the residence of Dr. Shadwell, an Alderman of the City.

The mention of the great fire reminds us that in contemplating with Hutten the back premises of the houses west of North Gate Street, we must think how many thatched out-houses, skellings or eskillings, there were at the time, and what fuel was prepared there for the spread of a conflagration. Wode Street, now St. Michael's St.,

and formerly that part of New Inn Hall Street which runs east and west, and lies to the north of these tenements and gardens, was a favourite locality for timber merchants.

P. 121. 'On our right hand the Shambles or Bucherrow in the midst of the Streete, from whence wee maie easily diserne the corner of St. Martin's Church, and the Conduit of Carefax whereof wee spake before. There is then noe difficultie here, but onely why these two Streets are called the Baylies, and what kind of Saint, St. Martin was. Of the first I can give you noe other answeare, but conjecture, that as in London the Old and Litle Bailies were soe called, (P. 122.) because there were kept the Sessions Court of the Chamberlane of London, soe, peradventure, here, in former tymes some like Courts might have beene held. Concerning St. Martin, what kind of St. hee was, I answeare, hee was Bishopp of Towers in France, and died about the yeare. 397 . . . in the. 81. yeare of his age. And here wee end our Survey of the West part of the Cittie within the Walls.'

The modern Queen Street, **Bocherow**, Boccherew, &c., would form, 'on our right hand,' the fourth way of the cross roads at St. Peter's Church. It was in this street, near the south-east angle of Messrs. Hyde's factory, that, about forty years ago, at the rebuilding of the factory, a very early Celtic Torque-ring of hammered gold was found in an ancient grave, very deep in the ground; but we have since learnt how much the roadway has risen in this part of the City. This ring is figured in No. 1 of the *Archaeologia Oxoniensis*, Oxford, 1892, p. 6. Here may be introduced an antiquarian note from Wood's *Life* (i. 463), because it describes something very closely akin to what has been observed at other places in Oxford within the last twenty years: 'Memorandum that in the month of Nov. 1662, in the digging a well for a pumpe at the east end of the Bocherew, was within half a yard under ground or more a pitched floore and 3 yards deepe in the ground severall great posts of timber that laid flat and then about a yard deeper others, as if formerly ther had bin a common shoare, or els more probably the foundation of the old Bocherew.' That they 'laid flat' shows that they were not posts, but rather balks belonging to a ferry road, as

at Trill Mill Bow, and near Plato's Well. There is in a house there on the south (No. 17, H. N. Prior's,) a pointed arch projecting above ground from the level of a deep cellar, about ten feet below the pavement. The primitive road at Carfax was eleven feet seven inches or more below the present surface.

As to the old halls once in this street, they were Durham, Halegod's, Draper, and Portmannimote. Of **Durham Hall** we learn (*Wi. i. App. 5*), that in 1400 John Spront, mayor, agreed with St. Frideswyde's for the payment of certain rents, one of which was for the house of Durham in the parish of St. Peter at the Castle, situated between a tenement of Robert Baturwyk on the east and a tenement of New College on the west. To this succeed (*ibid.*): i. For the house of Adam under the wall in the same parish 2s.; ii. The house of the Goldsmith 3s.; iii. For Adam Cruste's house 5s.; and these three tenements aforesaid reach from Draphalle on the east, westward, and reach to a certain street and to the end of St. Peter's Church aforesaid, and these tenements, made up of diverse small holdings, are annexed to that messuage called Durham. This accounts, roughly, for half the north side of the street, and gives a clue to the situation of **Drapery Hall**. **Halegod Lane** was clearly at the north side of the Butcher-row, and is probably the same as the Lane to the bakery, mentioned (*V. p. 108*) in a Balliol document of the year 1375. This is somewhat confirmed by *Tw. 22, p. 355*, quoted in *City i. p. 219*, mentioning 'a house called Elmeley with Algoddis Lane now in the tenure of John Akyns baker situated between a tenement of All Soule's College on the west and a tenement of Balliol College on the east.' The hall of Halegod has north and south boundaries given to it, and would therefore seem to be in the lane. **Portmannimote Hall** lay somewhere at the west of St. Martin's Church. There is a grant of this land in the Osney Cartulary (*fol. 99 a*), which also describes it as in the Butchery (*macearia*) towards the north. An order of 1528 (*Tw. 23, p. 197*) shows us the arrangements for butchers: 'all butchers, free of the City, shall upon market dayes kepe their standinges only in the strete towards the Castle, but the country butchers and forrayners shall kepe their standinges allwayes beneath the sayde butcher rewe or shambles, that is to say betweene the sayd shambles and the Castle bridge.' They had also, perhaps at an earlier time, a standing near All Saints' Church on Wednesdays and Saturdays. In an account, perhaps belonging to 1329 (*Tw. 23, p. 230*), we have:

For butchers' stalls at All Saints Church $5\frac{1}{2}d$. In 1412 (Tw. 23, p. 354): Inspectors of the trade of Bocherie¹.

vii. Osney and Rewley.

P. 122. 'In the Westerne Suburbs, therefore, of this Cittie wee find litle more worthie observation, then those Places whereof wee have already spoken, (P. 123) I meane the Castle of St. George, the Abby of South Osney, the Abby of North Osney, the Parish Church of St. Nicholas, and Gloucester Hall.' (*Lives of St. George and St. Nicholas* follow, pp. 90, 91, *Pl.*)

The plan of Hutten's *Antiquities* is now very clear. He took us up the central line, to mark the grand divisions of east and west; he then took a western curve to explain the west side of that line; and now finally he considers the western suburbs. In speaking of the Castle, we rather ran away from our guide, now we will follow him to Osney (v. pp. 66-8, *Pl.*).

Of this renowned abbey we can well exclaim with a writer of old, 'What an expanse for an active pen!' Few will be willing to allow that Wood was at his best when he wrote his account of this abbey. He errs sadly as to right and left; he says he trusts to a drawing, and to a description by an old friend; the drawing is no better than the unmeaning thing which Agas gives us; the description was not clear, or Wood ran away from it in a dream of the past splendour of the buildings. The material that has come to hand from one source or another is still very small, and twelve years of watching the cemetery now on its site have done but little to solve the question how its buildings stood.

Of the **remains** of the abbey we have merely a late fifteenth-century archway near the tall chimney, and only a fragment, a few feet in length, of a once extensive range of buildings called the Canons' buildings. This, however, is worth visiting, as the construction of its tall roof is visible and of peculiar character. There are

¹ Twyne, just before the place cited, gives us a list of officers in 1407. A Mayor, 2 Bailiffs, 4 Aldermen, 2 Chamberlains, 4 inspectors of nuisances (nocumenta), 2 assessors of houses, 13 councilmen, 2 criers of dues, 2 sellers of fish, 2 underbailiffs, 1 Mayor's sergeant, Crier and Town clerk, sometimes 2 Wardens of the keys (1404), 2 Inspectors of meat (1454).

one or two pieces of early Decorated carving near the lych-gate, another showing dog-tooth ornament, also the bases of two or three shafts of the cloisters. In demolishing a house in Hollybush Row, in order to continue the street to Oxmead wall or Osney Lane, a few carved corbel heads came to light, very characteristic and perhaps unique. In the western and northern parts of the cemetery, when graves have been dug, old tiles, bits of glazing lead, an old stone coffin or two, have been discovered, and a range of early graves has been made out. In August, 1895, in widening a mill-course at the extreme west of the site, there were disclosed several relics of the old abbey—portions of Early English shafts and arcadings, terminals from hood-mouldings, pieces of pierced cresting, and so on; all which have now been stored away in the vaults of the Town Hall. In the Chapter-house at Christ Church there is a relic of Osney of another type—a slab of marble with a floriated border-ornament of ivy near the margin, containing the ends of two rhyming lines of Latin . . . ‘OF WARWICK . . . OF THE COUNTESS THE ENTRAILS ARE HERE.’

Agas, in addition to his church, gives us a gateway apparently to the north of the house of the keeper of the modern cemetery. John Aubrey set Mr. Hesketh, a priest, to work to sketch the ruins, in 1643 (Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, vol. i. p. 38); the result was the well-known drawing in some copies of the first *Monasticon*, which was re-engraved for the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1771. The west tower and the tower at the transept are still to be seen in Bishop King's window, in the south aisle of the Cathedral choir. There is also a drawing like Aubrey's in the Gough Collection (vol. 26, No. 82), done when the ‘wheel-fardingales did spread,’ say 1610-20. To judge from excavations, the present cemetery chapel seems to stand on the site of the old nave, about one-third from its west end. The mound formed of mortar from the lofty tower, beneath which are one or two paving-stones, is growing year by year less visible. What there is of it lies W.S.W. of the present chapel, two-thirds of the way towards the cemetery wall.

The abbey had a church three hundred and thirty-two feet long (so says William of Worcester who measured it), and this would reach from the tower mound across the present chapel a few feet over the railway wall. The whole track is like a mason's yard. If we go from the same mound southward sixty feet for the south transept of the church, and one hundred and sixty feet for the dormitory, which was in part

over the cloister, and then turn westward one hundred and twenty-nine feet for the great refectory, we shall have compassed about half the great quadrangle, which was almost as large as that of Christ Church. We have now the dimensions of this, once the third abbey in England for the splendour of its buildings (*vide* Appendix); but how the several parts stood with regard to each other, we know not. We can smile at Agas's conception of the church, especially as we know that Queen Mary had Mass performed in it not long before. Its fifteen lights in the choir may indicate five bays, the twenty-one in its south aisle may suggest seven bays, the fourteen lights in the body may also mean seven bays: three bays only, as drawn by Agas, are incredible. The 'carolls' or Lady chapel behind the high altar had thirteen lights, and seemingly three or four bays, but by his time all this had utterly vanished. The few feet of ruins which remain near the mill chimney enable us to recognize what portion of the buildings there are represented in Burgher's sketch, published by Hearne (*Textus Roffensis*), and thus the entire length of that group can be fairly estimated as it was to be seen in 1720. There may grow up in a future generation enough antiquarian spirit to demand a careful examination of at least the garden ground at the west of the cemetery, and then the information grouped together in the Appendix will become of service. The discovery in a line south of the tower mound of bases to shafts and of stone coffins is the only clue, though an uncertain one, to the line of the cloister, the usual place of burial. The Chapter-house may be identified with the ruin shown in Aubrey's two drawings in front of the tall campanile, the western tower, that lofty tower which held a bell of size equal to, and metal identical with, the modern 'Tom' over Christ Church gateway.

North Osney or **Rewley** (v. p. 73, *Pl.*) was not, as far as we can judge from existing drawings, on a scale at all to be compared with that of Osney. The history of both is given in Wood's *City* (vol. ii. pp. 188 *seqq.*, 294 *seqq.*). The site of this Rois-leie—place of Richard, King of the Romans—has almost been lost to us in later days, though a little arbour, at the north-east angle of the site, for a long time served to mark the spot. To point out that angle by reference to permanent natural features is not easy. Treat the canal as non-existent, remember that the lake at Worcester College was formed by excavating the ground between two parallel brooks, running along its northern and southern sides, and produce the northern brook to

a point where it will meet the river¹. Old maps (e. g. Faden, 1789) show a stream running into the river on its west side, exactly opposite this point; and it was on this stream that the arbour stood, scarcely four yards from the river in Hoggar's days, 1850, and not twenty now; sixty more yards intervened between the arbour and a turret of the abbey which overhung the stream. Drawings of it are fairly numerous, but all made after it had been desecrated, and turned into malshouses or a brewery. Good eyes may still detect a fragment or two of the old buildings worked into a garden wall at the north; and through an eastern wall, to be seen across the canal, opens a Gothic gateway of some interest. The grand entrance, however, was not there, but at the north-west of Hythe Bridge Street, among the present coal-merchants' offices. Loggan's plan shows us the spot, but before 1850 the north front towards the stream had vanished, as had also several of the streams through Worcester meadow. A stone dug out from this spot, for which Hearne gave half a crown, is still in the Ashmolean. He recognized it as the memorial stone of Ela Longepée, the benevolent countess of Warwick, and the inscription reads thus: ✠ Ela, countess of Warwick, made this chapel: to whom may Jesus be a reward in heaven ✠. The lettering and abbreviations are unique, and it seems that the second part of the inscription was added by another carver, probably after her death.

There were evidently frequent troubles between the City and Rewley, arising from the water-courses in the neighbourhood; and Osney was in like manner often charged with stealing water that should feed the City mill. In 1586, for instance (Council Book A, f. 287), this order occurs: 'The mill-master (at the castle) shall make the Lashegate at Rewlye corner lower by ten inches.' The royal permission to open a road along the river northwards to the abbey, from Hythe Bridge along the west side of the stream, is in existence. The remains of Rewley in Hearne's time (see *Textus Roffensis*, p. 329) were considerable. In an appendix to Leland's Itinerary (ii. p. 71, ed. 1711), he writes: 'At a small distance from it (Osney) on the North side we have some considerable Remains now standing.' 'The *Abbey* was first design'd for *Secular Priests*, but these were afterwards, viz. in the Year MCCLXXXI, chang'd by *Edmund Earl of Cornwall*, son to Richard,

¹ Agas has rather misplaced the streams. His work round the border-land of his map is not very accurate.

(king of the Romans) into an *Abbat*, and fifteen *Monks* of the *Cistercian* Order (v. p. 72, *Pl.*). I do not think it worth my while here to take notice of and inlarge upon the *Arms* of the Earls of *Cornwall*, (now to be seen at the *Entrance* into *Rewly-House*) the *Images* of some of the *Apostles* (as *St. Andrew*, *St. Thomas* &c.) in a *Closet* on the South side of the *House*, the arms painted in a *Window* going up *Stairs*, the *Coyns* of King *Henry* the VIIIth, and others, sometimes dug up here.'

viii. St. Thomas' to St. Mary Magdalen.

The Church of St. Thomas (v. p. 63, *Pl.*), once having another dedication to St. Nicholas, the patron of sailors, has now but few points of interest. The Norman style of the chancel, and the arch from the porch, mark a building erected in Stephen's time. Three of the original Norman windows remain, two of them having been revealed in the restoration of 1848. The double dedication of the church is noteworthy. It is attributed to the fact that the chancel was dedicated to St. Nicholas, and that the nave had St. Thomas of Canterbury for its patron. Mr. Chamberlain, its celebrated vicar, in his small tractate upon the church, writes thus: 'In 1521, Henry VIII, who, six years before, in the well-known conference at Baynard's Castle, had declared his intention of humbling the clergy, caused this church to be reconsecrated under the earlier invocation of St. Nicholas, St. Thomas being considered the great patron of the clerical order. Popular opinion and long established custom, however, were too strong even for this imperious tyrant, and the alias St. Thomas the Martyr has ever since prevailed.'

This church stands on one of the lowest sites in Oxford, and has been very much subject to floods. This accounts for the floor of the building having been so much raised that a piscina, which would ordinarily be about thirty inches from the floor, is now only eight or nine. There is an interesting priest's door south of the chancel, an insertion of the Transitional period, with some uncommon iron-work upon it. There is also an exterior dedication cross upon the south-east buttress, the only example perhaps in Oxford. North of the churchyard gateway, there stood till quite lately a quaint seventeenth-century house, and on the south side still stands an old endowed school.

Gloucester Hall (v. p. 69, *Pl.*), now Worcester College, is ap-

proached from the south by a street now named after the college. Its former name, **Stockwell** Street, is worthy of being recalled for two or three reasons. The 'well' proves to have been that called Plato's in Tudor days, and before that Cornwall, Cornwell, and Cornish-chough. The first of these names is believed to have been given in contradistinction to Aristotle's well, a long half-mile farther north, but springing from the same bed of gravel. Cornwall is probably from its being on the southern boundary of Cornwall close, and Cornish-chough has been invented as a humorous title, since Crow-well, near No 1 Holywell, occupies the opposite angle of the City on its north side. Our 'Chough and Crow' are not exactly gone to rest, for both are beautiful and bountiful springs—the former almost too much so for the contractor—merely concealed by soil added in the process of ages. The prefix 'Stoke' is equally interesting. It is among the most common of names for villages throughout more than one-half of England, sometimes by itself, sometimes compounded with some other word or words; and there is also a variant, Stock. All these places are near streams; and hence able etymologists assert, and almost prove, that a timbered ford, or one whose position was *staked* out¹, was the original meaning of the word. At Worcester corner there was, a few years ago, plain proof that Stockwell Road crossed a stoke or fordway of this kind, and it seems to be that referred to in a charter of Thomas of St. Walery of about 1180, from the Osney Register (V. p. 375): 'tis his confirmation of Bernard his father by which he gave to Osney, viz. 2 sellions of land to make a road at North Osney near the fosse of the land of the said Canons together with the rushy-bed which is between the ford called Wereford and the tenement of the Canons.' A ford over the Were (Aldwear), and near to Rewley, would certainly be over the stream which feeds the Castle mill, and nearly upon the site of Hythe Bridge, perhaps over the fosse where it parted from Aldwear to surround the castle.

The rough land to the east of the well is still known as Broken-hays among the older population, and the floors of some of the old cottages there are even now most undecided which level to take. This may well recall the old word *haga*, not in the simple sense of *mound*, but of *earth-work*; the mounds having been cast up, for all we know, to threaten the Empress Maude. Between the Castle and these *hays* which Agas delineates so boldly, was once the Jews'

¹ Cf. the middle syllable of Bullestrokebrigge.

Mount, or better Justice Mount, placed by Agas within the Castle precincts, and embellished with a gallows. Our Chough might have gazed upon this 'sign of civilization': our Crow have sat upon the other at the end of Longwall. The little inlet from Old Were or the Castle stream, the first of those to the east of Hythe Bridge, clearly shown in Loggan, and just discernible in Agas, is, as we are sure from a view-map among Wood's miscellanea, the stream which ran from Plato's well.

Going up Stockwell Street, we have on our right, on the east side, Gloucester Green¹, a green no longer, but once bordered by trees, as shown in Loggan, and made attractive; for the city authorities at one time wished this to be a fashionable part of the City, and perhaps looked forward to improved rents from their property in George Street, then Thames Street. One house, we are told, was the sole result of this speculative movement, and that made way for the Corn Exchange about four years ago (Oct. 1894).

We now mount the hill, the Beaumont of early days—sometimes Beaumonts, as if there were more than one—and find **Gloucester Haule** on the west. In 1283 there was founded here a Benedictine house or mansion in connexion with Gloucester Abbey, hence the name. At a chapter of the whole Benedictine Order in England, held at Abingdon in 1290, it was agreed that other houses of the order should be allowed to share in the Oxford College, and to erect, at their own cost, additional buildings for their separate use. This explains the diversity of, and the badges upon, the five houses still standing on the south side of the quadrangle. Those on the north have perished, but in the small quadrangle there still remain the walls of others, deprived, alas! of their badges or ensigns. These and the northern range are figured in both our maps, and rather flattered by Agas. North of the chapel, and now forming the Bursary, there still remains a building as old as the five houses, but not so distinctive in design. On this side were the mansions of Abingdon, Gloucester, Glastonbury, and St. Alban's; and the shields of Ramsey (?) and St. Alban's are still left over the gateway; those of Tavistock, Burton, Chertsey, Coventry, Evesham, Eynsham, St. Edmondsbury, Abbotsbury, Rochester, Norwich, and others, have vanished. A Dugdale MS. once in the Ashmolean recorded at least fourteen coats, which were known to heraldry. St. Alban's is men-

¹ Loggan calls this Broken Hays, and gives the name of Gloucester Green to the ground on the east side of Walton Street.

tioned above; and it was to its munificent Abbot Wheathampstead, about 1420, that the College owed its first chapel and library. His coadjutor in the latter was the great Duke Humphrey, the founder of the library now often called Bodley's. Gloucester College came to an end with the dissolution of the Order which maintained it, and the buildings were left empty. The chapel very soon fell into ruins, and a huge tree grew up within its walls. Loggan, in 1675, was so deeply affected by the melancholy spectacle which the hall presented, that he engraved on his plate the mournful line, 'Why hath the Lord dealt thus with this house?' At the time of its purchase by Sir Thomas White for St. John's College (Wood F. 28, p. 390 b), the deed, 1558, 'particularly expresses the Syte and Circuit of the College—Two Buyldings or Lodgings upon the sowthe and northe part Seaven chambers, every one in length 16 feet in breadth 12 feet. Two other buildings upon the north part containing in length 20 feet in breadth 18 feet. The Hall in length 60 feet in breadth 30 feet.—Another Buylding adjoyning to the said Hall in length 20 feet in bredth 12 feet—Six small lodgyngs adjoynyng to the south part of the said hall whereof two beneath and 4 above, containing in length 30 feet in bredthe 16 feet—The Soyle of the late church in length 40 feet in breadth 20 feet—The ground within the Syte in length 80 feet in bredth 40 feet upon which dyvers other Lodgings were erected by John Willyams knight and latelie wasted and fallen downe—The Garden and orcherd—Two parcells of mead enclosed with water whereof one contains 2 acres the other 3 acres—(all) lately part and parcell of the land and possessions of the Bp. of Oxford and in our hands by reason of a surrender.' How it rose from its ruin by the generosity of Sir Thomas Cookes, and became Worcester College, how the marshy garden has been made so beautiful, and how successfully Mr. Burgess has converted the simple but well-proportioned interior of the second chapel into one of the finest examples of decorative art, all this is not to be said here.

Before leaving this site, we must not forget that the Carmelites had an abode hard by (*vide* pp. 81, 82, *Pl.*). They were a second Monastic Order introduced by Henry III, who, in a Patent Roll of 1256, records how Nicholas de Meules, once the keeper of the Castle, surrendered to the Provincial of the Order 'his house in Stockwell Street in the suburbs¹ of Oxford.' Wood says (*City*, ii.

¹ The Hundred is not often mentioned in deeds respecting this part of Oxford; Beaumont, Rewley, Osney were so well known that 'in the hundred of Northgate'

416) that he finds the situation of de Meules' land to be 'on that part where the south side of Gloucester College was afterwards built.' A Charter of 1282 records that the Abbot and convent of Osney granted and quit-claimed to the Prior and brothers of the Carmelites that they might in peace hold, build, and for ever possess, the ground which Richard called Maydeloc sometime inhabited, where their gate is erected, containing sixty feet in length and thirty feet in breadth in the parish of St. George in the Castle near the Huxe for a yearly rent of 16s. The Friars had evidently acquired a good deal of ground, and had made arrangements with the Monks of Osney for an Oratory, when a great stroke of luck happened to them. The tale of Baston the poet, and Edward the Second's vow after his escape at the battle of Bannockburn, will be found told best in Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, and Wood's *City*, ii. 420. In 1317 he granted to the Order his manor house near the North Gate of Oxford without the walls, in pure and perpetual alms (Pat. Roll. 11 Edw. II. m. 3). In 1324 the Friars purchased divers strips of land in the suburbs of Oxford from Adam de Brome and others (Pat. Roll. 17 Edw. II. p. 2, m. 10).

The mansion or manor house of Edward the Second's gift was his Palace of **Beaumont**, which should be known to every student of history as the birthplace of King Richard the First. After the Dissolution, it passed into the hands of Edmund Powell and Isabell his wife. Many of the buildings were taken down; one large hall was converted into the parish poor-house; and as if that was not indignity enough, Skelton tells us that it became a pig-sty. On the wall of St. John's College, looking towards the Martyrs' Memorial, and on the second storey, are some huge blocks of stone, not of Chichele's placing, and these, as tradition asserts, came from the palace of Cœur-de-lion. Among Thomas Day's expenses at St. Frideswyde's, 1546 (V. p. 586), stands, 'Item to a laborer Alexander Cooke pulling downe stone at the white fryers for the wall 6 days, 2s. 5d.'¹ The palace might have been preserved by Oxford in memory of him, if for no other reason, at least for the great privileges he granted to us. But, though well out of the way of Beaumont Street when it was made, 1825, being at the back of the garden of the most westerly of all the houses on the north seldom occurs. The last, it should be remembered, lies rather south-west than north of the City.

¹ The wall figures much in these accounts, and Wood asks, 'What wall?' The answer, probably is, the wall of Wolsey's chapel: see above, p. 48.

side, it did not escape the vandalism of that age. Even now, from time to time, a skeleton is exhumed from the western half of Beaumont Street, and then we know that that realm of surgeons and physicians was once the graveyard of the Whitefriars. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1825, i. p. 360, has the same tale: 'About twenty skeletons have lately been dug up in Beaumont Street in digging for the foundations of a house. A very curious antique key and the head of an arrow were discovered. It is conjectured that the bodies were those of young persons, most probably of soldiers who fell in one of our civil wars. Not the least remains of clothing or coffins could be seen.' From this it would appear that all remembrance of the Whitefriars' burying-place had passed away. The house may have been No. 32 Beaumont Street (Private letter). We learn that clerks' houses and many churches were sanctuaries more or less safe for a malefactor; and this curious incident may be added from Leland (*Coll.* ed. 1715, ii. p. 462): 'Aboute this time (1305-18) John Tanner a Villaine, saide, that he was Sun to Edwarde Cair(n)arvon, and (being) pursuid, toke the White Freres of Oxford, which being afore the Kinges Logging was gyven to them.'

P. 127. 'From hence wee maie see on our left hand a litle Village called *Hincksey Laurentii*, from whence Mr. Nicholson deduced the Springs of his Conduit, (*City*, i. 448) which now serves both the Universitie and the Cittie. On the right hand you may discerne another litle Village, called Binsey, and att the furthest end of the Cawsy a third, called Botley, which is the utmost limitt of the Universitie's Jurisdiction. Returning backward to the High Bridge, wee see on our left hand Gloucester Hall, and the ruines of the Beamonts *alias* Carmelite Friers, whereof wee spake before.'

Hincksey and Binsey lie rather out of our way, and Botley too, but the road to it, the 'noble causeway with its seven bridges,' as Ingram calls it, demands a word or two. From several references it seems very likely that a cawsy existed here, for some distance from Osney Bridge, in early days, otherwise it is not easy to account for the need of Bulstake Bridge. It is not improbable that the hamlet of Wyke, a short way up the Binsey Lane, was important enough to be connected by a good road with Oxford. Among the property of Rewley Abbey, appropriated by Henry VIII and sold to

George Owen, 1541 (Ogle, *Roy. Let.* p. 153), were included All that meadow called Rewley mede lying in three distinct parts to the North-west of the Stone Cawsey in length from Osney bridge near the Newe Cawsey leading to the new Bridge over Bullstakewater with all the aforesaid new Calcetum (causeway) called the Newe Cawsey and all the trenches on each side of the same causeway which are the metes and bounds of the said meadow called Rewley mede on the South-est and the whole of the trench to the North-west of the Calcetum sometime the property of Rewley. This causeway had been much improved by Claymond, President of Corpus 1517-37, and hence the word 'Newe.' Shepreve's life of him, now in MS. Wood F. 30, has the lines :

Quis nescit longo constructos ordine pontes
 In prati medio (Botlia parva) tui :
 Quos prius hic populo quam sic reparasset egenti
 Invia terrigradis haec via prorsus erat ?

ix. St. Mary Magdalen to St. Giles'.

P. 127. 'Then passing onwards, wee come to the Parish Church of Mary Magdalen, which appeareth to be more auntient then the Castle, because it is said in the Ledger Booke of Osney Abby, that Robert Doily the Elder, and Roger Ivie his sworne Brother, gave this Church, *cum tribus hidis terrae in Walton & pratis & decimis eidem Ecclesiae pertinentibus*, to the Church of St. George in the Castle and to the Cannons Seculer serving God.'

The fact of Hutten's here turning backward, and not making his way by Gloucester Green and Friars' Entry into the street almost opposite to St. Mary Magdalen Church, shows how much the district last under consideration seemed at that time to be severed from the main body of the town. Even two hundred years afterwards Worcester College still stood isolated, almost like a country farm or mansion. The Church of St. Mary Magdalen lies near to Bocardo, and on the same northern road, so that we may now regard ourselves as taking up our first track, that from Grandpont to Bocardo. The church, as we now see it, recalls nothing beyond the fourteenth century. The Norman archway to a vestry with a room above (vide Ingram, 3) has vanished. So have also the two lancet windows which, c. 1720, faced north, and a north doorway besides, Early English

in style, sunk deep in the earth, a proof of the length of time during which the exterior soil had accumulated. But the two fine west windows, in early Flamboyant style, and the whole of the beautiful south aisle, the work of the White Friars, make the church a very interesting study. There is a very pretty statuette of the Magdalen on the west face of the tower, said to have come from Osney, though Rewley is a more probable source, as we know that in 1536 the churchwardens purchased some of the material of the latter Abbey (V. p. 303). The statuette may be of the fourteenth century. The tower itself (not the large window) seems, especially from the style of work round its base, to be of the date 1500 or thereabouts. To the date of the south aisle we have a clue in an indulgence of 1337 (V. p. 298): 'Robert Bishop of Sarum his writing, dated at Little Remesbury (Ramsbury, Wilts) 1st of August 1337 whereby he releases 40 days "de injuncta sibi pena" to all his parishioners, and to all "qui hanc nostram indulgentiam ratam habuerint et acceptam," who will pray for the soul of William Bost whose body layes buried in the new chapel of **St. Mary** the Virgin in the church of the Blessed Mary Magdalene and for the soul of Mabelle his wife whose body layes buried in St. Giles' Church in the new chapple of St. Michael there;' to which is added, 'This chapple is that, as I take it, on the south side of Magdalen parish church and hath been called the founders Isle.' There are remains of a crypt under the same aisle which is believed to have been built by the Carmelites. St. James' altar here is twice mentioned, viz. in 1387 and 1398 (V. pp. 267, 115). The first notice is from the New College documents, in a copy of a Will made by 'Robert Wathington (perhaps Watlington) wherein he would have his body to be buried in St. Mary Magdalen Church before the alter of St. James, he leaves to the image of our Lady there half pound of wax, to the image of Mary Magdalen half pound also, to every begging Order 2s. 6d.' The second is also a Will, with the same injunctions as to the body of William Chyselamton, 'he leaves 6 marks also to make a window in the said church.' The Churchwardens' accounts mention (V. p. 301) Sir John's Chamber. 'Item for covering the porch of Sir John's chamber 17d.: for making the loft in Sir John's chamber over his bed 7d.' Sir John was no doubt the Chantry priest. A priest of St. Katharine occurs in 1509, thus (*ibid.*): 'Paid to St. Katherines preist for the whole year 40s. Her image in the chapple. That payment and no more was even to the last.' As the first chapel of Balliol was dedicated to this

saint, it is supposed that the Balliol aisle, then the north aisle, was dedicated to St. Katharine. Her altar is mentioned 1532 (V. p. 303): 'For mending the Masse book of St. Katherine auter 20d.' A figure of St. Thomas occurs in 1538 (ibid.): 'A hoke to hold up St. Thomas 2d.' A list of presents given in the year 1516 by Mr. Caxton, most probably the husband of Philippa Caxton whose brass is still remaining, is of some interest (V. p. 301): 'Mem. these parcells following is the gift of Mr. Caxton. First a scarlet goune firred with greye and Coffes of the same which were the Queens; a Cappe of black velvet with a frontlett; 2 yards of red braunchet velvet; a harness, gyrdle, pendant & bokyll gylt; a diaper towell 7 yards long and 3 quarters; two cossyns (cushions) with red harts; & a Corporax case of gold with 2 Corporaxe in it.' The church acquired a rood-loft as late as 1540 (V. p. 303): 'Paid for taking downe of a Rode at the black Fryars with Mary and John and the carriage of them from the said fryars to the Church 20d.' All these treasures were soon gone: 1551 (V. p. 304) '8 tabernacles were sold out of the church which were for the most part on the altars' and '3 altar stones,' and 'the old organs sold for 20s.' Two years later and all was reversed (ibid.): '1 Q. Marie they set up the altars againe.' One bit of church furniture is still left there, their treasure chest, mentioned thus in 1532 (V. p. 303): 'Paid for <a lock> and key to the chest that the Juells ly in 7d.' The priest of the Lady chapel had a bed chamber, 1509 (V. p. 301): 'Received of the chambre over the vestre in which the Chantry preist used to lay.'

From prolonged law-suits about this church it may well be thought that, as Wood says (*City*, ii. 76), it was built by permission from the Priory of St. Frideswyde, but of this there is no proof. Had they held any right over it, the fact would certainly have been noted in some of their first charters. The charter of Roger, Bishop of Sarum (*Wi.* 13), 1139, makes no reference to it, yet Wood's version (V. p. 404) runs, 'I give back to the church of S. Frideswyde the fair belonging to the same church *and the church* of St. Mary Magdalene which King Henry granted to the same church <after> the deraignment of Wimond who was the prior of the said church: so it is verbatim.' But the charter of restoration of Henry the First (*Wi.* 9) mentions nothing further than the fair, and in the summary of the deed, at its end, there is again no mention of the church. Perhaps there were two versions of Roger's charter, and Wood copied from an incorrect one. It is recited in Pope Innocent's Confirmation Charter, 1140 (*Wi.* 15).

In the Osney Chronicle, under the years 1147, 1151, 1175, 1200, we have the history of the adjudication of the church to St. George's in the Castle, an account of the law-suit being moved to Rome, the determination of the church to Osney, and the surrender of the suit by St. Frideswyde's. The tower of the church is said (V. p. 303) to have been built about 1530. Such a date would do well for the lower part, but not for the arches which support it. It may refer only to some necessary outside repairs. This entry follows another of the same type in 1522 (V. p. 302), which mentions the new-building or rebuilding of the church. There were and are parts remaining of much older date than that. A similar statement is made regarding the chancel of St. Peter's in the East; both must be taken *cum grano salis*. Isolated as the church now stands, with its two decorated aisles north and south, we must remember that this was not always so. The work of clearing away the houses round it was only completed in 1820. Agas shows us that on the south more than a quarter of the space of the present churchyard was occupied by houses, and as much as three-quarters of the space on the north. This is confirmed by Loggan, who also shows that further encroachments had taken place. These houses having been cleared away so lately, several drawings and prints of them remain. Two more structures are visible at the north end. One is shown in Agas as a house with a court behind it, in Loggan as an enlarged Poor-house. Next comes a small timber erection, probably the Pillory of Northgate Hundred, with a small roof to cover the neck-piece and to protect the occupant from sun and rain. By Loggan's time a parish pound had become requisite, for the Beaumonts and Gloucester Green would in his time afford a large space for trespass by cattle.

The remainder of the street almost up to St. Giles' Church is a great blank in Agas; he has neither of the ditches which Loggan has shown, and whose existence excavations of late years have confirmed. References to such a ditch (near Wadham Coll.), as leading to Beaumont, apparently towards Smith Gate, are not uncommon. The sewage of St. Mary Magdalen, running along the street, led to some law-suits with St. Giles'. The course of the sewer is not clear, but a branch seems to have run eastward, for in 1559 (V. p. 639) New College leased to Wm. Stock the President and the Scholars of St. John's College for a term of sixty years, one acre of ground in the furlong called Bemond having the way leading from

Smythgate towards Woodstock on the east (i.e. by Keble Coll. front), the College of St. John Baptist on the west, and the channel or watercourse running out of Magdalen parish on the south. Between the two ditches shown in Loggan and the houses on both hands were the fore-courts or lawns of the various houses. There are still persons living who, when boys, were punished for trespassing on these, or for leaping the posts which parted one from the other. The posts themselves vanished about 1893. In Jeffrey's Map, 1766, thirteen of these fore-courts are marked off on the west, eleven on the east, and one of the latter is quite reserved ground. In our days the ninety-two elms have perished, and plane trees have been planted to take their place; but we have widened a street over-wide already, macadamised the whole, and are doing our best to kill by thirst every tree we have planted. St. John's College purchased the freehold of its fore-court in 1576, and has thus left us a reminder of what was once the depth of these fore-courts. About this purchase Wood gives us a memorandum (V. p. 640) from the college documents: 'Sir Christopher Brome Kt. sold to St. John's College all their plat or peice of ground lying before St. John's College Gate, containing in length from North to S. 200 and 8 feet, in breadth from E. to W. 44 feet &c. 5 April 1576.'

Hutten brought us to this church along the line of George Lane, or Thames Street, not shown in Agas, and perhaps not existing in his time, though the name of Irishman's Street may possibly refer to it. The following extracts may also be concerned with it. The view of frankpledge of the north-east and north-west ward presents, in the fourteenth century (Tw. 23, p. 444), that a way in Northgate is choked with dung through lack of cleansing, and the chamberlains of the City are bound to clear it. A charter, c. 1200, in the Osney register (V. p. 375), refers to the lane from the great street towards the King's Hall (i.e. Beaumont Palace) outside Northgate. In the next charter William the plasterer and his wife gave to Osney all their land lying between the way to the King's Salle (salam) and the land late of Ernald son of Matilda, outside Northgate; or, as in another charter, from the aforesaid gate to the Hall of the King.

For the consideration of the sites of old tenements in St. Giles' we take first the west side, where more than half-way between Bocardo and Friars' Entry was once **Battayl Hall**. This is described in a conveyance dated 14 June 1303, as a messuage

and tenement outside North Gate in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen between the tenement of Thomas Bost on one side and the tenement of Thomas de Dodeford on the other; and in another instrument, Aug. 1320, conveying it to Exeter College, as a messuage called Battail hall situated outside North Gate, facing the church of the Blessed Mary Magdalen as above. In 1368 (V. p. 318) we have: 6s. 8d. for rent of Battlehall in St. Giles' street; to which Wood adds 'falsely without doubt.' The error is but trivial, and Mr. Boase in his *Register of Exeter College* makes no remark upon it. The Hall was not bought to be part of the site of the college, but merely as a means of benefiting it. Next, before reaching Friars' Entry and Oxenford Hall (the name has shifted, apparently, a little to the south), there was in 1347 (V. p. 261) a messuage of John Fitzperys, given to Andrew de Halesdon, in Magdalen parish between the tenement of John de Suterton on the north and a tenement of the Carmelites on the south, which he had of the gift of Richard Dodeford. This appears by a charter among the New College muniments, and Wood adds a note 'A tenement or little parcell of land on the south side of Oxenford Inne owned by' Thomas Snareston of Great Lynton, Cambs. Over and on each side of Friars' Entry was the **Bell Inn**, Oxenford Hall or Brampton's Place, of which we have among the New College documents (V. p. 256) this, which Wood calls 'the first writing of those that belong to Oxenford Yn:' a Charter whereby Wimarch the wife of William Parmentarius grants to Geoffry of Hoftill the land which was of Geoffry Cupparius' in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen near the land which the same Geoffry bought of Belsent the wife of Geoffry Fitz Alwin. The next from the same source, 1336 (ibid.): Nicholas de Brampton quit-claims to William de Brampton and Johanna his wife for a messuage in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen between the tenement of the said William called **Brampton's Court** on the north and the tenement of John son of William Bost on the south. But in the time of Henry VIII (V. p. 257), says Wood, was 'a tenement lying on the South part of the Bell (belonging to New College) belonging to the Whitefryers, through which they had their entry;' and again in 1521 (ibid.): 'Oxford Inn or the Bell was augmented on the south part with a tenement which New College bought of Henry Busby alias Fykett,' in the position as above described. 'These tenements,' he adds, 'are still standing <1666> and made one, and the building differs.' As to the Entry itself or the roadway, when

the property of the Friars was at its fullest extent, there was not much space between their grounds and the street. The Entry opens into the street in a line with the north wall of the church. The name Great Gate is applied to this opening in the Churchwardens' accounts (V. p. 300), but the date is not given. In 1551 (V. p. 304), in the same accounts, we have: 'Paid for setting the grale in the **fryars entry 6d.**,' probably meaning an iron gate or fence¹.

Spicer's Hall is next north, but it is perhaps an earlier name of the last mentioned tenements or of part of them, i. e. of the private house of Wetewang, who was an Apothecary, otherwise a Spicer. In 1334 (Tw. 23, p. 263) we have an incident about a Spicer's house, interesting in itself but perhaps not connected with this Hall. Suit between Osney and Richard the Spicer: The latter complains that the Abbot and others unjustly took his pledges (*namia*), viz. two leaves of his gate and one pan from a place called **Spiceres tenement** in the suburbs of Oxon, and carried them to a house of Richard le Bruyn and there kept them to his loss and injury.

We next come to **George Inn** or Piper's Inn, of which the parish only is given; the position is not known. Next **Gose Court**; and here we meet with information about the place last named: 1399 (Tw. 23, p. 427), Hugh Bishop confirms to Nicholas Bishop his brother all his messuage &c. in the hundred outside North Gate in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen. Then follows this note: Be it known that the said messuage is near the new inn called *Georgesyn* alias *Pypersyn*, of the abbot of Osney's on the north. **Peyntor's Hall**, if on the left side of the road, would be one door south of Alfred Street, as a law-suit arose to determine in what parish it lay. There was also perhaps here a **Gamage Hall**. It is but once mentioned, and then as being in Magdalen Parish; therefore it was no farther north.

Before we start at Balliol corner along the eastern side of the road, two things must be noticed. The first is that the Templars at Cowley had a house on what is now the northern part of the churchyard. We find (V. p. 260) among the New College documents: Brother Robert of Samford, agent (minister) of the Knights Templars in England, grants to Master Ralph de Swaclive the house belonging to the Knights Templars in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen near the Church of St. Mary Magdalen towards the north².

¹ It is not unlikely that some of the notes about Thames Street may have been intended for this lane.

² One of the witnesses to this is Adam Claviger, of London, i. e. key-bearer, or *Withekey* alias *Wythige*; *quod nota*, as Aubrey says.

Secondly, we note that south of the churchyard, at the point where certain parish boundaries meet, marked since 1890 by a Pillar box, was the historical cross at North Gate, put up, as Wood says (*City*, i. 341), in 1339, when the University successfully asserted its rights in North Gate Hundred. In maps later than Loggan, houses are shown occupying all the south face of this churchyard, and turning up on the west half-way to the church. Of a Magdalen Hall north-east of the church, and facing Balliol Ball Court, there is not sufficient evidence. Twyne and Wood seem to have wished to prove the halls to have been as many and as ancient as possible.

Where Canditch and St. Giles' Street meet there was a tenement thus referred to in Savage's *Balliofergus* (p. 61): 'The corner Tenement, over-against *Candych*, was given <1377 to Balliol>, but when or how the Tenement adjoining to it, which is now the South-part of the **Katherine-Wheel**, came to be the Colledges, I doe not find; the said Tenement seemed to have belonged to St. *Fridisweds*, as being formerly described to be on the west-part of *Old Balliol-hall* . . . That which now is the *Katherine-wheel*, was given us 3 Ric. 2. <1379> as being described in the Deed to be directly opposite to the East-end of *Magdalen Church*.' The reference to Old Balliol Hall will follow when we speak of Broad Street. All that we now need to say is that the boundary quoted is correctly given.

North of the corner tenement was one of St. John's Hospital called in 1328 Brecham's Court, occurring in a rental (V. p. 234) thus: From the small solar in Brechams court 3s. 2d. From the great solar in the same court 6s. 8d. From the little sellar 3s. 10d. and from the great sellar 7s. To which Wood puts in the margin: 'Note that Balliol Coll. Balcourt belongs to the Mag. Coll. and a house by Balls the bedle.' In 1437 the same rentals (*ibid.* p. 175 B) mention the tenement of the Hospital between the new inn called the Cardinal's hat on the north and the tenement of William Balkes on the south. In 1487 (V. p. 175 A): 'in a writing whereby the College of Magdalen <successors to St. John's Hospital> doth demise for divers yeeres a plot of ground to Balliol Coll. it appears that the inn now <1661> called the Katherine Wheel was called Cardinal's hat 3 Hen. 7.' To which is added in a later hand: 'this is a mistake, for the Cardinall's Hatt was north of Balliol College Ball Court, ut ex chartis eiusdem Coll. mihi liquet.' Wood's note (*City*, i. 360, note (c)) is 'New Inn or Cardinall's Hat, are Caesar's

lodgings and the houses to the new back gate of Trinity College. They belong to Christ Church and rented out for 40 years to Balliol College and Balliol College hath let some of it to Trinity College for their new buildings and a back way.' The Lodgings above noted were opposite to the Martyrs' Memorial, occupying the site of the south end of the new block of buildings, belonging to Balliol. To suppose the Katharine Wheel and the Cardinal's Hat to be on different sites makes the whole locality difficult. Now in Agas's representation of these, the first little quadrangular building from the south will probably represent Brecham's Court; farther north, flush with the Poorhouse, is, at the rear, that range of seventeenth-century buildings left to us west of the new Hall of Balliol College; and to the north of it is the line of the back way now leading by the Laboratory to Trinity. At the edge of the street will be noticed an archway (which is distinct in Whittlesey, indistinct in Agas) leading from Balliol directly to the north entrance of St. Mary Magdalen Church. A three-storied Georgian structure east of the Martyrs' Memorial, which we see in late drawings, had taken the place of the earlier Caesar's lodgings, mentioned above; and a similar structure to the south went by the name of Pompey (*vide City*, i. 634, n. 8).

P. 84. 'This Colledge, ⟨St. Bernard's⟩ alsoe, was of the same Order of Cistertians . . .' (P. 85) 'This Foundation was erected by Henry Chichely, Archbischopp of Canterbury, in the daies of King Henery the Sixt (before hee began his other Colledge of All-Soules) *Anno Domini*. 1438. This building, likewise, haveing three sides, after the common Suppression, fully standing, was by King Henery the Eight given unto Ch. Ch. and of the Deane and Cannons there Sir Thomas White, Knight and Alderman of London, did, in the Raigne of Queene Mary, purchase it, and the Grove, upon such occasion, as wee shall relate, when wee come to speake of St. John Baptist Colledge.'

Going northwards from the backway into Trinity we pass to ground which has become famous under three names—Brend-court, **St. Bernard's** College, and the College of St. John Baptist. The first title (Brend-court) was borne in common with that of Whitewhanger's or Fowkes' tenement. It was part of the Basset rents, an old Oxford Lordship. In 1346 (Tw. 23, p. 424): received from Joanna Whitewanger

for a tenement called Brendecourt *11d.* In 1349 there is a fuller description of the property (*ibid.* p. 148): Will of Robert de Wetewang apothecarie; I give to John my son all my entry with three shops and belongings, in the suburb in the Hundred without North Gate which is called le Brent Court; also he speaks of his tenement (same parish, &c.) called Le Spicer Hall. The boundaries are not given. From a loose paper in the City muniment room (Tw. 23, p. 196), of uncertain date, some University College property is described as near Brend Court on the north. In the rentals of that college, 1401 (Tw. 23, p. 364), occurs this: From a garden lying on the south part of Terry's tenement and a garden formerly called Brandcourt and Fowke *3s.* In 1447 (V. p. 298), from the archives of the Church of St. Mary Magdalen: Brendcourt now Whitemonkes College;—i. e. College of St. Bernard. Though Wood made this extract, he does not refer to it when mentioning this Court. In a roll of taxation of the year 1488 (Tw. 23, p. 466) stands this: From the Abbot of Stratford atte Bowe for the tenth of divers gardens within the church (ecclesiam) of St. Bernard, worth 10s. per annum; the full tenth *12d.*, the half *6d.* The buildings of St. Bernard's College, erected in 1437, are usually supposed to have been the front, with tower gateway, and the still remaining statue of St. Bernard, and one wing at the north. Before Chichele had proceeded far with the building, he handed it over under the name of St. Bernard's to the Cistercian monks. (Burrows, *Worthies of All Souls*, p. 8.)

Henry VIII, in 1546, granted (Tw. 23, p. 9) to his foundation at Christ Church, the site, enclosure, and buildings, lately Barnard's College; the parcels include the half-garden of Durham College. In 1555 (V. p. 637) Philip and Mary by Letters Patent gave license to Sir Thomas White Knt. to erect and found a college in a certain capital messuage with its appurtenances lately called Barnard Coll. in St. Marie Magdalen parish, to be called the College of St. John Baptist. The deed of sale by Christ Church to the founder, 1555 (V. p. 580), granted their capital messuage and house called Bernardall and their part of the grove adjoining. A rent was reserved, and it was stipulated that the president or governour should be always a member of Christ Church, also that the Dean and Chapter should be visitors of the College, for the observing and interpretation of the statutes; but this, says Wood, was not put in. On May 29, 1555 (V. p. 638), the founder increased the area by giving them half his part of a grove adjoining the said messuage. Possession was taken

(*ibid.*) 18 June following, by Robert Morwent President of C. C. C. as also of half the grove with a garden. In 1558 (V. p. 639), George Owen M.D. by his charter dated 23 July granted to Sir Thomas Whyte three acres of arable land without North Gate, parcel of the manor of Walton (this was added to the site of the College), which manor the said George Owen lately had by the letters patent of King Henry VIII, dated 22 Nov. 1541. In 1559 the founder purchased Gloucester Hall through Mr. Wm. Doddington. Peter Mundy, in his *Travels*, 1637 or 1639, writes: 'St. John's Colledge Chappell yet a building allready guirt partly paved with checkred work of black and white marble as most off the rest are and to be paneld in imitation off Magdaline chappell.' This 'building' was probably nothing more than Palladianizing the windows. In Agas's map at the rear of St. John's will be noticed 'gardaines and an orcharde.' This ground is now occupied by the second quadrangle, built by Laud 1631-6. The architect is said to have been Inigo Jones. It is an attempt to combine Tudor and Renaissance. Amhurst, in his *Terrae Filius*, No. 34, May 11, 1721 (3rd ed. 1754, p. 181), says: 'On the top of this turret (to the gateway tower) there is a little hole through the battlements, which, it is said, one of Oliver's cannon-shot made, when he besieged Oxford.' A shot is still shown in the library, said to have been found in the tower. Such cannon-balls have been found in the tennis-ground east of the Holywell schools, but this one must have strayed very much if the tale is true. Under the north-east angle of St. Bernard's College still remains a beautiful cellar, or perhaps store-room, as it has a fire-place. To the north of the same angle a group of buildings was erected in 1613 by the cook of the college, one Thomas Clark (V. p. 652). In 1676 a Common Room was built at the north-east of the chapel, with a remarkable ceiling and beautiful panelling. In 1881 a group of new buildings was erected on the site of the old Greek Hall.

As to Greek Hall, Mr. Boase knows nothing of its belonging to Exeter College, as is stated by Wood (*City*, i. 357, n. 9). Twyne's account, referred to by Wood as 'our antiquary's Apology,' is almost wholly imaginary.

St. Margaret's Hall is supposed to be the next to the north. It is mentioned only once or twice, and the Godstow possessions were so dispersed over St. Giles' parish, that it is hopeless, with such few and indecisive references, many of them to landmarks that have

perished, to fix a locality for it. It is even possible that some confusion has arisen with a St. Margaret's Hall on the site of Balliol.

The case is quite different with **Black Hall**. The name appears to have adhered to it from early days, and no one who knows Oxford would hesitate to affirm that the present handsome seventeenth-century house, which once had St. Giles' pond opposite to it, is on the site of the old Black Hall. There is also little probability that there were more than one of the name about here. In one of the City charters relating to St. Giles' parish, anno 1350 (Tw. 23, p. 403), Alice wife of Richard Cary of Oxon assigned to John de Langrish and Alexander Spereman, Chaplain, the custody and guardianship of Nicholas the son and heir of John Blundell, with all his lands and tenements in Oxford and its suburbs; and they again on surrendering their guardianship to the community of Oxford excepted *inter alia* a certain place in the suburbs of Oxon in the parish of St. Giles called La Blakehall. In the will of John de Bereford, dated 1361 (Great Book of Wills, fol. 57; Tw. 23, p. 528), provision is made for the endowment of the chantry of St. Mary in All Saints' Church. Among the property given is his tenement in the parish of St. Giles called the Blakehall. Edward Wodward's will, 1496 (Tw. 23, p. 151), shows that he was the owner of the 'farme of Blakhall.' In the same will he provides for 13s. 4d. to be divided (with other moneys) among the sixty-three persons upon St. Scholastica's day. In 1480 (*ibid.* p. 541), Joan Gylle daughter and heir of William Dagvyle of Oxford, Gentleman, devises to the Abbot and Convent of Ruley her 'ferme place' in St. Giles parish called Blackehall. When Rewley was destroyed, the property belonging to it came into the hands of Richard Oweyn of Godestowe Esquire, who leased 'the farme of Blakehall and other parcell of lande unto one Nicholas Daye of the parish of St. Giles,' 1588 (Tw. 23, p. 259): to this Twyne adds, 'The hall stood on the East side of the street about the middle part of it.'

Continuing this eastern fork of the road till we are opposite the middle of the southern half of St. Giles' Churchyard, we should until about forty years ago have observed a lane, once known as Wimmil Lane, leading into the present Black Hall Lane. A district or fancy-garden place called Rome is connected with this lane, but several maps give us as a more direct road towards it a continuation of the road due east from St. Giles' Church. In 1498 (Tw. 23, p. 452) the Jury presented that William Brase has 'cast downe a crosse at Rome without Northgate.'

As the name of this place Rome occurs in the writings of St. John's College, we may suppose the place was on their land. On July 24, 1609 (V. p. 651) 'the Bishop of Winton his letter to the College for the taking downe of the house and windmill at Rome in S. Gyles' feilds . . . as an annoyance and unprofitable to the college.' Miles Winsore (*Bal.* p. 65) counted this as the ninth hill of Oxford: '9. Mons Romae seu Romanus labyrinthus.' Wood adds, 'This I suppose is at the further end of Wadham Walk, where sometimes stood a windmill,' &c.

St. Giles' Church in the time of Hutten presented an appearance much like what we now see, except that the south-east chapel has been recently altered. The fabric is interesting, and there must have been something about it which seemed to Rous (*ob.* 1491) to fit in with his improbable fiction of a University in the north suburbs of Oxford. He perhaps remarked the capitals of some of the shafts at the west end, and thought that, as they so much resembled some at St. Frideswyde's, they must be of great antiquity. The arcading along the north and south walls might suggest to him Roman construction; and the unusual arrangement of the north aisle roofs, coupled with the fineness of the entire structure, would induce him to fasten on this as the religious centre of an earlier University, when he had conceived the idea that such had once existed. We know that, in 1138, Edwine Godgoose gave the church to Godstow, and we may put down the Norman and transitional work there as being then in existence. Near the chancel arch seem to be traces of another triple arch, earlier than Godgoose's time, in fact early Norman; and in the north wall of the nave some windows, Norman or even pre-Norman, placed very high up in early fashion, lead to the inference that the present arcade was built under an older wall; in other words, that the wall was pulled through, and the columns and arches inserted, at some time when the church required extension to the north. That Early English masons could do such work is evident, to take a local example, from Cuddesdon Church. Of late years an exterior view of the northern chapels has been rendered possible, and they are a remarkable part of the church. The chapel at the north-east of the north aisle is, internally, a fine example of advanced Early English, and of great beauty. The tower, with four unique windows, with no stone staircase, belongs to the late transition style, so that most of the building was erected between 950 and 1180. The windows of the south-east chapel were altered and improved about forty years

ago, and it was probably then that the horoscope or sundial 'facing south and elaborated by the ornate skill of Standish the mathematician' disappeared from above the porch.

The church, as above remarked, is intimately connected with the strange myth, that in the ninth century the Greek and Latin schools migrated from Cricklade and Lechlade, respectively, to Beaumont, and clustered round this church. According to the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda* (Rolls Series, p. 41), the church of St. Giles outside Northgate was the chief church of all the clergy: but now the schools are within the walls, and the church of St. Mary within the said city is the principal church of the clergy. The passage loses credit at once by its being added that the transfer took place in 1354, as this shows what confused notions the author had of the history of Oxford. From this tale being generally believed in, there was a marked anxiety to find traces of antiquity in the parish. This developed itself strongly in Miles Winsore, who, as quoted by Wood (*Bal.* p. 17), says that buildings still remaining in the North Hundred teach us that the University flourished in the north part, such as the University Church of St. Giles, of old called by a different name; the royal palace of Beaumont, the Gloucester College of Clare; the royal hall, in English, Rewlye, of the King of Almain, the king's brother; Black Hall, almost touching St. Giles' Church, Ludlow Hall, Crippen Hall, Brackley Hall, Carver Hall, Tackley's Inn, Margaret Hall, Sparo Hall, Perilous Hall, Minard's Court or Hall, Well Hall, with two others upon Canditch, so also Balliol Hall near to St. Mary Magdalen Church. He then runs on to tell of a wonderful head dug up in St. Giles' Street, which he thinks was Offa's, another of a Saxon king at Exeter, and two at Brasenose. To this some one, probably Wood in his earlier days, adds the remark, 'These halls are far from St. Mary's, near to St. Giles.' There is much more to the same effect in the writings of antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but it is not necessary for us to carry the enquiry further. Mr. Parker's *Early History of Oxford* (vol. iii. of this series) has swept away our belief in the old fables.

x. St. Giles' to Godstow.

To return:—on the north boundary of the churchyard of St. Giles there stands a house, dated 1659, and often called the Old Parsonage. It seems to be near the site of a Bethlehem hospital, of which there are one or two notices; for instance, this of 1334, from the

University College muniments (V. p. 14): Thomas le Vent, chaplain, gives to John de Gonewardby four messuages, the second of which is in S. Giles between the lane which leads to Beaumont on the south and the tenement which the vicar of St. Giles inhabits on the north. The 'spitel' is mentioned in the will (City collection) of John Ocle, 1390: who leaves to each poor person within the Spitel near the church of St. Giles 2*d*. Not a hundred yards north of the church is left a stone house, almost the only one of its kind, lately acquired by the Trustees of the Sarah Acland Home. Sixty years ago this stood alone in the field, and was one of three houses which gave to the neighbourhood the name of The Three Farms; Walton Farm, near the Iron-works, being the second, and Blackhall Farm, well away to the north-east, being possibly the third. Within the garden of the first commenced or commences the roadway to a large gravel pit, which has its fellow in Bevington Road and the Nunnery grounds. These two were rented by the parish for the extraction of gravel for repairing the roads, and in the northern one facing St. John's Road was once discovered a hoard of Roman coins. The late Professor Westwood had a firm belief that the house at the north-eastern corner of Bevington Road had been the site of a large Roman dwelling. He had a distinct remembrance of square Roman tiles being found there in layers within the walls. This site was part of the gravel-pit just mentioned.

No sooner are the Bevington and St. John's Roads passed than gravel-pits give way to a long trench on the west side of the Woodstock Road, now still open in one or two places, but once continuous half-way to Summertown. Its existence has, indirectly, had a beneficial effect upon the appearance of that part of Oxford. The damp ditch, filled at first by road-scrappings and later on by earth excavated from cellars and foundations, has borne trees growing luxuriantly; and hence this part of Oxford, like the Banbury Road, presents features sadly wanting elsewhere.

Had a pedestrian thirty years ago turned down St. John's Road he would soon have found himself on the edge of a cliff of gravel with a row of white poplars skirting a lane, crooked and rough, but one deserving to be recorded, as that by which Charles I and his cavaliers, with six thousand troops, escaped from Oxford on June 3, 1644. It was, perhaps, the most skilful manœuvre effected in the war, and led to the check to the enemy at Cropredy Bridge. Where you pass from this lane into the present Walton Well Road, the well

lay on the right hand¹. Following nearly the line of Kingston Road, the lane led as far as the west end of St. Margaret's Church, and thence onwards to Aristotle's Well; but before that was reached, a tall bank (a short and dwarfed length of which still exists in the churchyard) would have been noticed. Some Roman vases and coins were found when this was taken down. This and the site in Bevington Road seem then to be traces of the Roman settlement nearest to Oxford in this direction. Excepting a few burials (perhaps pagan) and the insignificant ruins mentioned, there has not yet been found any evidence in favour of the north part of St. Giles' parish having at a period before 1354 been thickly, or even fairly well, inhabited.

Many of us have seen an Aristotle's Well² opposite to the Anchor Inn on the old way to Port Meadow, but whether it was that which figures in the *Apologia*, in the *Assertio*, in the history of the Greek and Trojan parties at Oxford, or in the numerous presentments against the 'Lady' of Godstow, it is not easy to say. A modern tramway, for carting gravel from the neighbourhood of Chalfont Road as ballast for a railway (1849-52), disturbed the spot for a time; the roadmakers have covered it up within the last ten years. Whether 'Brumann the rich' ever existed, whether Burghmanneswell (Tw. 23, p. 383) does not give a more reasonable origin for its name, supported as it is by another spelling Bromannes (*ibid.* p. 374), or whether Browysmanneswell (p. 613) and Brommanneswell (p. 561) are not more important and elegant, it matters not. An escheator's roll of 1277 and 1278 (Tw. 23, p. 3) takes all the interest out of the affair: Brimannus le Riche formerly held a messuage at Brimmaneswell and a carucate of plough land and twenty four acres of meadow with other belongings, of the King in capite; by what service is not known: the same Brimannus gave the above to the Abbey of Osney in pure and perpetual alms, but by what warrant the said Abbey holds it we know not; and it is worth 100s. per annum. The narrow road now over the canal leading to 'our meadow of **Portmanneheyte**' has Burgess Mead to its north, and this road was perhaps the most frequent subject of the indictments which the City every now and then laid against the Abbess of Godstow. They presented that she narrowed, she encroached on, she neglected, she dug into, she blocked, she 'surrounderyd' it,

¹ 'They have put a fireplace over it now to keep it warm,' was the mild joke of a stonemason at the time the road was made. The chimney-stack is the central one of the group of three on the north side of Walton Well Road, belonging to the house now No. 14.

² These two wells are shown in Mr. Alden's map in the *Oxford Directory*.

and at last they resolved to build a house at its hither end to overlook the way and keep the reeve's man ready upon the spot. All this pother about a miserable road nine feet only in width in Elizabeth's days! These old records tell us a great deal about the road, but they never say that the road also conducted people over a ford to Binsey, and so on to Seckanworth, as it is known to have done.

P. 130. 'Hence, according to our former use, wee must passe to the furthest limitt of our Universitie Northward, which extendeth it selfe beyond Wolvercott, even unto the Crosse standing upon Godstow Bridge, att the very doore of that Monasterie.'

Hutten here makes a sudden move to Godstow, and though the spot is somewhat remote, this north-west angle of our township shall be visited. To the north of Port Meadow a bridge of three arches is visible, called Toll Bridge; the nearer margin of the road going over it has been for more than seven, perhaps even for eight, centuries a city boundary. Tracing that boundary westward, we should, as late as 1894, have seen it make a double turn in order to enclose a piece of garden close by, that seems just in the way of the road coming from the north direct for the meadow. That piece of garden was once called Crosspond, and the apple-tree in its centre was planted there perhaps ninety years ago. There were then dug out some squared stones of a good size; these stones were the steps of the cross erected to Rosamund. It was not, then, as Hutten says of it, at 'the very doore' of the monastery, and a Moderator in Divinity ought not to have said so. It was really at the gate of Toll Bridge, by which people went into Godstow proper (Ogle, *Roy. Let.* p. 201).

Beyond the three-arched bridge, the Fair-close lies on the south, for the Nunnery once owned a fair, then a valuable right. Then the road crosses the old stream of the Thames by a bridge of two arches, both dating back to the thirteenth century, but the western arch has had a round head let into it; passing these, we come to the point of an island thickly clad with trees. A third arch is probably hidden in the bank here, as old drawings seem to show. Beyond the third bridge, which is very modern, with elliptical arches, lies the churchyard; for coffins have been dug up from the bottom of the river close under this bridge. A walled enclosure lies to the left, and a sycamore shades part of the luxuriant grass. It casts its shadow over the first burial place of Fair Rosamund, where once she lay

beneath a hearse resplendent with silken banners and waxen tapers. The tale with all its exaggeration, all its truth and untruth, has been told so often, that it will be well to confine oneself to the more prosaic duty of chronicling the architectural features of the place. Going onwards and westward, through a former Guesten Hall, we come to a rather straight artificial brook. A little thirteenth-century archway, somewhat patched, spans this, and is the limit of the Sanctuary field. We turn back, and the brook just crossed now presents a walled side, the stones fast retreating behind the vegetation. The brook can be traced southward and then westward, till, near a small cowshed, it passes into the walled precinct of the Nunnery. A few years ago its exit might still have been seen close to the one doorway which opens towards the river. Along most of the walling, at regular distances, the wall has been patched about breast-high; the patches were loop-holes in the Civil War. Standing at the little bridge over the Sanctuary brook, we look upon a fine fifteenth-century entrance gateway near a large and modern gravel pit. To the right or south of that, half buried in the wall, is a portion of a diagonal buttress perhaps a century older. It was an angle of the range of convent buildings which ran down that side, looking out to the garden on the west, and then returned from the shed eastward to the chapel. The northern edge of the enclosure is not straight. From the place where the indentation is, reaching almost to the new cutting to the river, a fair conventual church once extended, with a tower at the west end, which stood till the hurricane of New Year's Day, 1764, blew down its three remaining sides. Those who do not despise such studies should descend to the basement of the City Buildings and see what lovely work once adorned that tower. The chapel at the south-east is fifteenth-century, and its east window is still later, perhaps altered with moneys given by Bishop Fox, the founder of Corpus. The western part of the chapel was of two stories, the upper one for the nuns, the lower for the chaplains, attendants, and menservants. Beneath the chapel floor is still the embalmed corpse of Rosamund, and by her in the north-east corner lies a second nun.

P. 132. 'And now returne wee back againe to the North gate, from whence, on the left hand, wee first descry Balioll, and Trinitie Colledge, sometymes called Durham Colledge, as wee said before. On the right hand wee see the Cittie Wall, and some Tokens of that Ditch, wherein the Bishoppes were

burned. The Ditch is called Candich, because the reflex of the Water against the Wall seemes to resemble a certaine kind of shineing whitenes to the eies of the Beholders.'

We now follow Hutten back to the city and to Bocardo Gate. Of this one feature should be mentioned, the portcullis, a heavy framework which would require a strong machine room to raise and lower it with rapidity. This is noticed (Tw. 23, p. 238) in a city book of Chamberlains' Expenses, anno 1325: Repairing walls of the Maiden's Chamber at North Gate, for a bolt to the door of the same 12*d.* Also for a beam of timber bought for the portecolis at North Gate 6*d.* (porte-a-coulisses or gate running in grooves). The city tumbrel and the kuckynstol come in the same account and in many a one besides. In 1545 (ibid. p. 248) we have mention of the tower and pound of Northgate. Next we will consider, and that only in passing, the prison held in the bastion next west of Bocardo. We read of it as the prison made afresh for public women in 1310, so it was an early institution. In 1317 workmen were appointed to the cleansing of the prison for public women. In 1291 comes 'repairing the walls of the maidens' chamber,' but next year and in 1358, they repair and build a 'house for whores.' We read these and many such, but never that the 'chamber for light maidens' was empty. The foundations of this prison were dug up in 1870, and its site included in the United Methodist Free Church in New Inn Hall Street (*City*, i. 255, note 4, by Mr. Clark).

xi. Broad Street and the Fosse.

The east half of the town is now to be surveyed, each street taken in order, beginning with Broad Street, which starts north of Bocardo, and runs eastward. The earlier name of this Horsemanger or Horsemonger Street does not refer to any manger or mangers provided for horses; it is very unlikely that either the city or any of the carriers who frequented the neighbourhood, should in those early days when England was 'the hell of horses,' have put up a trough for their refreshment. Horsemonger gives a better meaning, for the waggoners and carriers lived near the gate, and a trade in horses would be likely to grow up in so suitable a road. The name Canditch, so far as at present known, does not occur before 1371; the other name is found at least a century earlier.

The site of Balliol has been referred to already, and remarks were made upon its western boundary. So far as present information goes,

St. Frideswyde's property, **Camage House** or *Camache*, may best be put next to the corner, though Wood wished to place it near Friars' Entry. Between 1180 and 1190, Hugo de Plugenet gave to St. Frideswyde's in pure and perpetual alms (*Wi.* 489) one messuage outside North Gate, Oxon, out of the tenement which Alfwyn the waggoner held, reserving a rent of 2*d.* A little later, 1200-1210 (*ibid.* 490), Robert Burwald quit claims to St. Frideswyde's all his right in the land which was Alan Romanger's.

The third tenement from the corner seems to be that described in 1318 (*O.* 41) as William de **Loigenhull's**, situated between the tenement of John de Croxford on one side and the tenement of John Sparrow on the other; everything is in its favour, even to Sparrow Hall being near it. A Register of Congregation, anno 1462 (*Wood, D.* 3, p. 115), gives us a Parsarina Hall in this locality, probably for Passerina, but its usual title is **Old Balliol Hall**. In 1379 (*Savage, Balliofergus*, p. 7) the University granted Balliol College a lease of it, described as 'scituate between a Tenement of Saint *Frideswids* on the West part, and a certain Garden (of Balliol) on the East, and extended it self from the Kings-street or Kings High-way of *Candych* on the South, to the Garden of *Tirwhit* Master of the House on the North. The *area* whereof (Garden and all I suppose to be meant) was 96 Foot in length from North to South, and 47 Foot in breadth at the South end, and 41 at the other. The name of *Sparrow-Hall*, which the *University* calls it by, might be given it before our Founder first took it of them. . . . In some Writings it is said to be bounded by the corner House on the West, which must be true of part thereof, the whole (Garden and all) being 96 Foot in length, extending a great way farther.'

The next messuage, the fourth from the corner, goes by the two names of **St. Margaret Hall** and Hammond's Lodgings. Its extent seems to have varied from time to time, as parts of it were taken by Balliol for College rooms. In 1339 (*Hustings Rolls*) it is 'La Margerethalle situate between the tenement called La Newebaillohalle on the one side and La Oldebaillohalle on the other.' It is generally believed that Old Balliol Hall was again occupied by the College scholars after New Balliol Hall became too small for them. John de Eu (*O*) had, as appears from an inquisition of 1284, bought up three pieces of property here.

The fifth messuage is **New Balliol Hall** or Marey's Hall. In 1284 (*V.* p. 113) Dervorguilla bought three acres of land lying

together in Horsemonger Street in St. Mary Magdalen parish, between the land sometime of Jeffery le Saucer on the one side and of Walter Feteplace on the other. About 1290 (*Wz.* 146) the Prior of St. Frideswyde's made an exchange with William de Eu of certain rents, &c., and quit-claimed to John de Eu all right in 6s. yearly rent which he was wont to receive of the same John from a messuage called Mareyshalle situated between the land which was of Philip de Eu on the east and the land of Geoffrey de Sawcer on the west in Horsmangerstrete, &c.

Of the sixth and eighth plots we have in 1302 (*V.* p. 114): John, son and heir of Walter Feteplace, gives to two clerks (the agents of Dervorguilla) two places of land, in the same street and parish as above, of which one place lies between land of Balliol College on one side and land of John the Slatter of Eynsham on the other; and the other piece lies between the land once of the said John on one side and the land of John de Sewy on the other; and again, 1310, the same two clerks grant to Balliol College the two places of land which they had by the grant of John de Feteplace, lying in Horsemongerstreet between the land of John le Slatter on the west and the land of the Durham Monks on the east, for the enlarging of the abode of the scholars of the same. The endorsement is 'of two places outside our gate,' meaning east of it. The royal licence issued the same year (*V.* p. 117) mentions the size of one of these places as one hundred and twenty-four feet long and thirty feet broad.

This has cleared up the space along the Broad Street front, and accounted for most of the land in the rear. Perhaps **Middleton Hall**, if we had more particulars about it, would fill up the north-east corner of it. The following clearly refers to a plot in the north-west, anno *c.* 1291 (*V.* p. 114); John le Sawser, son and heir of Geoffrey le Sawser, gives to Dervorguilla's agents a certain part of his ground in St. Mary Magdalen parish, lying on the east of the church, between Balliol land on one side, the land of Walter Bost on the other, and reaching in length to the land of the Durham monks on the east.

A short row of young trees is shown by Agas in front of the College, i. e. away from the spectator, to the south: Balliol as yet had not extended its buildings towards the west. It became a magnificent row in later days, and was not removed till 1771. Both in Agas and Loggan a curved post-and-rail fence is drawn enclosing the trees in a forecourt like that before St. John's. In later drawings the fence is a stone wall, and the area is generally rectangular.

Near the south-west angle of this space an iron cross has been placed at a spot in the roadway where a stake was found. The arguments for and against its being the site of the martyrdom are here inserted without apology, because Hutten, our author, is the first to speak of the locality of the burning. There are three places to be considered: (1) the brink of the ditch, behind the houses south of Broad Street near the Bishops' Bastion; (2) in the middle of the street north of the same Bastion, and (3) in front of the Tower gateway of Balliol. The last was the site generally accepted during the eighteenth century¹.

Arguments for the place being:—

A. Near the Bastion in the ditch.	B. Where the iron cross is placed.	C. Before the Tower gateway.
<p>1. Archbp. Parker (contemporary): 'Cranmer saw this dreadful and terrible spectacle from the highest part of his prison and prayed for them.'</p> <p>2. Agas's Map, thirty-two years after, 1588, makes the road open to the walls, i. e. no houses so far east.</p> <p>3. Hutten, who died about seventy-six years after the event: 'Ditch where <i>in</i> the Bishoppes were burned.'</p> <p>4. Wood (<i>Annals</i>, ed. Gutch, ii. 126): 'Over against Balliol Coll. where now stand a row of poor cottages.' (Apparently the first five tenements erected in the middle of Canditch were built 1636, <i>vide</i> Turner's <i>Records</i>.) Query, on brink of Canditch.</p> <p>5. Foxe, before 1684: 'in the ditch over against Balliol College' (ed. 1684, iii. 429).</p> <p>6. Ingram, before 1830: 'The exact spot is usually pointed out by a transverse stone in the crossway, opposite the door of the master of Balliol's lodgings, between it and a bastion of the city wall, which still remains nearly perfect at the back of the houses now inhabited by Miss Hoskins and Mr. Dudley.'</p>	<p>1. Archbp. Parker, before 1575 (v. A. i.): 'The position? chosen as a lesson for poor Cranmer.'</p> <p>2. Pointer, before 1749: 'On the outside of the College, over against the Master's Lodgings, in the Pathway between the College and the Street, is placed a narrow oblong white stone, edge-ways, in Memory of the Martyrdom.'</p> <p>3. A stake found there in 1875 with ashes round it.</p> <p>[If Cranmer went on the leads all three spots would be visible to him, but the windows to his chamber were, as now, eastward and westward.]</p>	<p>1. Foxe, before 1684: 'The Master of Balliol spoke to <i>Cranmer</i> when bound to the stake.' N.B. a later event.</p> <p>2. Peshall (p. 242), c. 1773, 'opposite Baliol College'... 'the stone to which they were chained yet remains.'</p> <p>3. Brewer, 1815: 'on the paved way directly opposite to the chief entrance' and 'a flat oblong stone, which marked the precise spot on which the fatal stake was placed was not removed till within the last few years.'</p> <p>4. (c. 1875.) 'Some stakes, not so many as five, found near the Tower Gateway,' &c.</p> <p>5. 'Under the kerbstone of the pavement immediately opposite the College gate there is (c. 1870) a large mass of wood ashes extending over several yards.'</p>

¹ For a general review of the question, see *Proceedings of Oxf. Arch. Soc.* (N. S.), vol. iii. pp. 233-56.

Agas's correctness about Broad Street has been questioned, but in the middle of the map, as here, he is generally careful, at least in his measurements. As to the early Lodgings at Balliol, they did not reach so far as now; if therefore the speaking was to the two bishops, the localities B and C must be given up. Peshall's 'chaining' is very characteristic. There seems a step gained by all this, viz. that wherever Bishops Ridley and Latimer were burnt, there is some probability that Cranmer perished opposite the College gateway.

It is not likely that the name Canditch is compounded of the Latin word *candida* and the English 'ditch.' The word *camp* was suggested some years ago by the writer, who noticed that the word was once far more extended in meaning than now, and certainly camp-ditch is a more likely derivation, and might easily be softened into can-ditch. As a street name it reached from the angle of Balliol to Smith Gate. The City Court Rolls of 1465 (Tw. 23, p. 387) contain the enrolment of a deed whereby Thomas Snareston, son and heir of Thomas Snareston, late of Woodstock, granted to Stephen Havyll of Oxford, brewer, and Johanna his wife, four cottages with gardens adjoining them in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen in the suburbs of Oxford, situated upon le Candyche between the King's way which leads from Smythgate, Oxford, towards a field commonly called Beamont on the east, and a tenement which was lately Henry Barwyke's on the west; and the cottages and gardens extend from the King's way which leads from the house of the Austin Friars towards Durham College on the south, as far as the garden or land which was lately John Spycer's, and now John Tregorram's, on the north. An inquisition of 1371 (Ogle, *Roy. Let.* p. 199), made before the escheator of Edward III, mentions Canditch as at the top of Broad Street: the Warden of Merton Hall has appropriated to himself and his house a place of land containing two acres in the suburbs on Kanditch, viz. from the gate called Smythyate to the pit called Crowell, which place of land is parcel of the farm of the town, in which place there used to be a market daily held of all kinds of necessaries, and called Jaudewens markt.

Sundry building operations have, of late years, taken place along the line of the ditch, and these have enabled a better idea to be formed of its dimensions; and when labourers have been found working at one part of it, they have always been ready to give information about other portions which they have explored. The fosse seems at first to have been sixteen feet broad at the surface and sixteen feet

deep, but for about the eastern third of George Street, and down Broad Street, it appears to have been made by joining a chain of older deep ponds. One foundation near the Bishops' Bastion had to be carried twenty-two feet deep, partly through pond mud, before the gravel was reached; and this was where the surface ground lies quite five feet lower than the road. The outer line of the passage between Exeter Chapel and the house to the north of it, was the line of the south face of the old city wall, well certified by documents, drawings and excavations. Northward from that point, allowing about six feet for the wall, and forty feet for the house, the entire depth of Canditch, or of a pond it passed through, was found there to be eighteen feet six inches, including three feet of black mud at the bottom. Then came the pavement six feet six inches wide, and a cutting northwards, twenty-one feet long, across part of the road. At about five feet north of the kerb the total depth was nearly ten feet, having two feet six inches of earth which had been thrown into the pond below that, and eighteen inches of black mud upon that, thus reducing the actual depth to about six feet. Further north a huge cutting for an old sewer rendered measurement impossible, but for several yards beyond there were indications of an ancient roadway. The Sheldonian Theatre has a basement floor supported by square piers. About twenty years ago these piers began to sink, and the floor above became uneven. At a few feet below the floor the piers were found to be on very bad foundations. Fresh footings had to be made, and further excavation to the depth of several feet was necessary. The ground below was pond mud, so charged with water that the vibration caused by steining round any hole made the soil round adjoining holes perceptibly vibrate, even when fifteen feet distant.

At the north-east angle of the Old Clarendon Building, a small current of water still crosses Cat Street. From sections made across Broad Street to the east of the Turl, it appeared that there had once been ponds there, varying in width from about a hundred and fifty feet near the Turl to a hundred and twenty feet near Exeter College and the Ashmolean, and again under the Theatre. A broad coloured stripe on the City Surveyor's map indicates a range of City property extending along most of the city wall on the north. This has been built on the ditch, after first filling it up with bones, rough earth, sweepings of churches, and the refuse of the leather merchant. North of the wall near New College is a gravel walk more than

twenty feet wide, marking an old parish boundary. It once lay between the Town wall and another smaller wall inside, and was ground to which the City, after a struggle of more than a century, was unable to prove its claim. It is the old fosse, as distinct from the fishponds outside the smaller wall. In Broad Street and on the northern margin of Holywell Street, at a depth of three or four feet, well-worn stones forming a primitive road are met with, but the width of this road barely equals that of the narrowest part of Holywell Street. The slope begins near Bath Court, almost under the edge of the south pavement. It seems also that rather less than halfway along George Street the pools under the wall cease to be traceable, and end before the pathway to Bulwarks Lane leaves the street. When the corner by **Cro-well** is reached, where Long Wall Street begins, the fosse becomes very indistinct. Under most of the east wall there seems to have been a kind of morass.

At the rear of No. 4 King Street, the ditch was found to be about twelve feet wide, and to run some little way from the wall, which was there just six feet thick, made of small stones and mortar that had perished. Not sixteen years ago, water stood at the south end of the Botanic Garden, indicating an earlier connexion between the fosse and the Cherwell. It is to this corner of the City wall that we may refer the following writ of Richard II, 1380 (Ogle, *Roy. Let.* p. 83): Whereas, as we have received information, divers discords and quarrels have lately arisen between you (the City) and the Warden and Scholars of the house of Mertonhalle, regarding this matter, viz. that when you at our bidding for the strengthening of our town, duly caused the trenches, walls, towers, gates and enclosure of the same to be repaired or cleansed, at your own heavy cost and expense and that of the community, certain persons on behalf of the House above mentioned, collected in great multitude, and arrayed in warlike fashion, asserting that one of our Royal ways near the said ditch¹, whereby a common way for the said warden and scholars and others had from of old been wont to exist, had been totally blocked up by the soil and gravel taken from the said trenches in the course of such cleansing as aforesaid, to the great annoyance of the passers along, cast back

¹ It is worth explaining that, as Milham Bridge was not built till after this date, Merton men coming in from the other side of the river went not through Eastgate, but turning down Rose Lane (once Trinity and Shaftesbury's Lane), worked round into College by what are now called Merton fields. Cattle driven in by this road were a great annoyance to that college in later days.

the earth and gravel into the same trenches, and forcibly, with carts and otherwise, filled in the same, which are known to have existed there from time beyond memory, and moreover, so armed and arrayed, went by day and night through the streets and places of the town, lying in wait for our people, threatening many of our lieges there with many threats as to their life and limbs, and making for our disinherison and prejudice, to the no small loss and injury of the community, and, as they assert, of the passers by, and against our peace: we, therefore, anxious as well for the tranquillity and quietness of those studying there in our university, as for the preservation everywhere as we are bound of our own peace, order you on pain of forfeiture of all things that you can forfeit, that, abstaining for the future from all gathering together of men for this purpose, and from all evil doing, and from all rancour, you do not presume to do secretly or openly anything which may tend to the disturbing of peace or to the commotion or terror of our people or of the warden and scholars there. And know ye that we intend to send there shortly certain persons with authority from us to survey the said trench and nuisance and finally to quiet the aforesaid dissensions.

The signs of a fosse towards Corpus are not so numerous, but they abound farther on towards the Meadow Buildings of Christ Church. No measurements of the fosse along the south side of the City have been seen. The inviting subject of Canditch has carried us far away, so we will return to Broad Street.

P. 132. 'This Suburb is long, and reacheth from Bocardo unto Holywell Parish. There is noething in it greatly worthy to be remembred for Antiquitie, but onely on the right hand that old round Building of Stone att Smithgate, which is said sometimes to have beene a Synagogue of the Jewes, inhabiting in or about the Citty. This is the common received opinion; but I have understood since, that it was a private Oratory, built by a certaine Ladie, and dedicated by the name of St. Margaret's Chappell. And unto this place the Ditch is altogeather damn'd upp with Rubbish and small Cottages builded thereon, and on the left hand the Augustine Friers, where now Wadham Colledge standeth, haveing yet left behind them a memorie of the Augustine Disputations, begunn first there, and, upon occasion of a Plague, removed to St. Marie's as

wee said before. Nothing else is to be seene in this Streete, but onely the opposite Walles, enclosing Wadham Colledge Grove on the one side, and the Groves of Trinitie Colledge and St. John's on the other.'

Walter de Merton's College, founded at Oxford in 1274, marks the permanent establishment of the University here. The Monastic Orders soon recognized it as a place of education to which their studious members should be sent. Gloucester established its house in 1283, and Durham, even more distant, in 1289.

Durham College lay east of Balliol. In 1290 (Tw. 23, p. 48): The King gave license to Thomas Semer of Oxford to give three and a half acres of land in the suburb of Oxon and to Thomas Leewys (Lesewys) to give one acre and to Walter le Bost to give one acre in the same suburb to the prior and convent of Durham to hold to them and their successors for ever. And in the same year (ibid.) a similar license was given by the same King to Laurence le Juvene to assign to the same Durham convent a toft with its appurtenances in the same suburb of Oxford, to John le Sclater the like, to Henry of Diteneshale the like, to John Feteplace to give two tofts, to Richard of Dadyngton the like, and to Gilbert the son of Amicia to give five acres of land in the same suburb. Between 1295 and 1298 (Warton, *Life of Pope*, p. 275), Godstow Abbey (Mabilla Wafre, Abbess) granted to the Prior and convent of Durham, all their plough land which they had from a certain cross ditch in Beaumont, between land of Philip O (Eu) and land of Roger Semer, whereof three acres lie near land of Walter Bost on the north, and one acre lies on the south of the same Walter Bost, between the land of Thomas Lesewys and the land of Roger Semer, and one head of this land abuts on the walls {of the Colledge?} towards the west and the other head towards the Royal Way of Beaumont on the east {Parks Road}, together with certain rents: also to the same prior and convent all their vacant plots near Perilous Hall in Horsemonger Street, at a rent of 10s. Some of these acres must have afterwards formed part of the site of St. Bernard's College. There seems to be no change in the site until the days of Henry VIII, when in 1546 (Tw. 23, p. 10), among the endowments of Christ Church is included half the garden of the Colledge of Durham in St. Mary Magdalen parish. The rest of the site Edward VI, or his agents, made over to the Church of Durham, and shortly afterwards the same agents, George Owen and William Martyn, became possessors

of it themselves. They, in 1554-5, Feb. 20, conveyed to Thomas Pope of Tyttenhanger in the county of Hertford, Knight, a messuage called **Dyrham Coll.** with its appurtenances, including half the grove, lately in the tenure of Walter Wright doctor of the civil law. The grant recites that King Edward VI granted the said messuage or college to them 4 Feb. 7th of his reign (1552-3), they paying 26s. 2d. per annum to the King, against which rent Geo. Owen covenanted to indemnify the College.

Opposite to Trinity Gate is the end of **Turl Street**, once really possessing a 'twirl' or turnstile, a cross on a post set in a narrow doorway. In a City deed of August 18, 1614, the gate is called 'The Turning Gate or the Whole in the wall.' The older name for the street, as far as present documents inform us, is 'The Street by All Saints,' or 'from All Saints to St. Mildred.' No trace has been found of the imaginary Silver Street; it may go to keep company with St. Andrew's and Dantesbourne Churches.

On the Twirl-gate side of Broad Street, and the width of three houses to the east of Turl Street, there was at a period a little later than Agas a timber-framed house, built for Alderman Wright, a renowned politician. This disappeared about 1850, and a portion of it reappeared in the Turl, near Exeter College Chapel, altered in its dimensions, but the old timber preserved.

The Ashmolean and Old Clarendon Buildings have a history tolerably well known.

We cross the street, and near the iron gate of Trinity we observe some ancient cottages, one of which may be on the site of **Boner Hall**, Baner or Banner Hall. The Oriel documents cited below give some information about its position. In 1299 *m* (O. p. 56), it is called Messuage of John the Peynter, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, and is leased for life to Philip of Wormenhale at 40s. per annum. By 1303 it had changed landlords, and (*ibid.*) Nicholas the son of Peter de Middleton once a Burgess of Oxford grants to Philip of Wormenhall, Oxon, a certain messuage called Banerhall, situated in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen in Horsmonger-strete, between a tenement of the hospital of St. John and another tenement belonging to the church of St. Mary Magdalen. In 1329 Thomas de Wormenhale son of Philip gives it to Adam de Brom and Richard de Overton, clerks, by the name of Banerhall. Adam de Brom, by his will, proved in the City Court, 1332, devised to his clerk, Richard de Overton, his tenement in the suburbs of Oxon

in the parish of St. Mary Magdalen, called *le Banerhalle* which he lately acquired of Philip of Wormenhale. At a later date, Richard of Overton transferred it to Nicholas de Misterton, chaplain, and in 1345 Misterton to William de Daventre, fellow of Oriel. All these intermediate transfers took place while the authorities were waiting for the royal license in mortmain.

Bodyn or Great Bodyn Hall, and probably Little Bodyn Hall also, follow next. In 1292 *m* (V. p. 171) John de Weston and Ysolda his wife confirmed to Nicholas the Master and the Brethren of S. John's Hospital the gift of Robert Bodyn of a messuage in Horsmangerstrete between a tenement of Thomas de Hengessey and a tenement of the Master and Brethren. But another charter, probably of the same year, says (*ibid.*) that Robert the son of Robert Bodyn gave two messuages between a tenement of the Master and Brethren and a tenement of Petronilla daughter of Geoffrey de Hengessey called Perylusehall; a case of relatives, as it seems, residing three doors away from each other. In 1294 (V. p. 232) the order, perhaps in position, perhaps in which the rents were paid, is—(1) Bodyn Hall near Perilous Hall; (2) another hall from the same holding (query Little Bodyn); (3) Brakele Hall; and (4) Deep Hall; Perilous, which would be between (3) and (4), and paid rent to Oriel, is here omitted. In 1338 (V. p. 216) it is stated that **Brackele Hall** is situated between Great Boydon Hall on one side and the Hall of Oriall on the other, without Smithgate.

Perilous Hall is historically and distinctly connected with the site of the present Kettle Hall. The first mention of it is about 1295 *m* (V. p. 627), which has been already noted under Durham College. The charter there cited mentions Bost's land, probably a part of what we met with under Balliol College site.

Of **Deep Hall** there exists (V. p. 172, no. 6, &c.) among the records of St. John's Hospital a series of charters, *c.* 1230 and onwards, which all seem to belong to this Hall, and, from the names of the adjacent owners, east and west, can be safely ascribed to it. According to these, its owners were, in succession, Elias Helleknave, *c.* 1230, Richard de Ypwell, Richard Plummer, Robert le Rat and Petronilla, sometime the wife of Nicholas de Wythull, who in 1263 *m* gave to the Hospital the messuage there called Depehall, situated in Horsmongerstrete as before, *viz.* between the land which was Walter of Beaumont's and the land of Angelus le Bolter (*i.e.* maker of bolts for the cross-bow, a trade akin to that of the Fletcher and Fitcher).

Robert le Rath, still having rights over the property of some kind, quit-claimed them to the Master of the Hospital, one Nicholas.

Bryd Hall, which is twice mentioned, 1317, 1321, but merely as a boundary to other property, is in this parish, and described as outside Smith Gate. **Well Hall** in 1463 was a garden, but no boundary of it is given. The angle was occupied, as now, by an inn with the title, so useless to us, of **New**. A little consideration of the parish boundary determines its position. In 1463 it appears (Twyne 23, p. 104) that John Walton Abbot and the Convent of Oseney leased to Richard Lekys certain tenements, among them a garden of Robert Marcham's called Wellehalle in Horsemangerstrete near Le Smythgate. In the Oseney Rental of about 1400 we have Wood's note (V. p. 469): 'In St. Mary Magdalen parish the last tenement there, next to Well Hall, is called "Tenement vocatum Newyn," with other tenements joined to the same.' The north arm of **Canditch** was not thickly built upon; there seem to be but six houses, one of which has been mentioned before as occurring in 1465 (*supra*, p. 124). A note of Twyne's (23, p. 543) refers to another, George Haville by name, lessee in 1511: 'he willeth that they who shall be infeoffed in my Brewehouse in the sayd parish and also in my house uppon Canditch before the Austen fryers shall pay yearly the summe of four markes for evermore toward the findinge of one preist to pray for my soule at the Altar of our Lady of pite in the church <of St. Mary Magdalen>.'

With regard to the position of the **Austin Friary** (for history, see *Pl.* 79, 80), there is some doubt. A gateway still exists opposite to St. Stephen's House, which has taken the place of a fifteenth-century one, shown in several prints. It gives access to an enclosed space inside, south of Wadham College quadrangle. From near the large tree on a lawn there two skeletons have been dug up, and these may be signs of the former cemetery. If so, the present Dining Hall of Wadham College would roughly correspond with the site of the Chapel of the Austin Friars, and the Friary buildings occupy much of the space whereon the College was built. Not a particle of the former structure is visible on the maps, and it is easy to trace the cause in the base usages to which the plot was put when in City hands. Judging from Agas's map one would doubt the possibility of the old archway having survived. Loggan's faithfulness in depicting the young College of Wadham, which was begun in 1610 and finished in 1613, deserves notice; he even indicates the cresting over

the gateway mentioned above. The Friary is of earlier origin than either Gloucester Hall or Durham College, as it was founded in 1268, under the patronage of Henry III. His Patent (*City*, ii. 447) names two properties, which are, virtually, as in most cases, donations of the owners, but transferred to the King's name for greater security of tenure:—(1) That land which we had of the gift of Roger the clerk of Cumenore, in the parish of Holy Cross; and (2) that land in the same suburb and parish which we had of the gift of Master Martin de Bruton; the rents chargeable on both being in all 11*d*. In 1269 (*ibid.*), we have the Charter of Bogo de Clare, Rector of the church of St. Peter in the East, whereby at the instance and command of his patron, the Lord Henry King of England, he grants to the prior and Brethren of the Order of St. Augustine dwelling at Oxford a part of his land in his parish of St. Cross between the King's road reaching towards Beaumund and the land of Mr. Walter Byllingdon, to construct therein a chapel in which they can celebrate divine rites. But John de Coleshull, the Charter goes on to say, was really the prime mover, as he gave to God, to Bogo and his successors and also to his Church of St. Cross, 4*s*. of yearly rent arising from a messuage which Lumbard of Grekelade a Jew held in the Jewry, in St. Aldate's parish. Lands seemingly lying to the north were given later on; and the position could not have been very desirable, for it had a large ditch in front, reaching up as far as Keble College, which was not filled up till early in the seventeenth century, when the road was raised ten feet. Trinity College garden still shows signs of this depression. The great fair here was probably held amid the ruins of the Friary. Twyne (23, p. 141) sums up the changes of owners of the spot thus: 'The Augustynes in Oxon sold 1552 by Henry Duke of Suffolke and Thomas Duport to Henry Bayly, who sold it afterward to William Fryer and he to the City of Oxon.' In 1578 (*Tw.* 23, p. 597) we learn from the Mayor's accounts that certain men were appointed to agree with Mr Frere touching the bargain and sale of all the interest which the towne had in the Augustine fryers, unto Mr Fryer who had it of the towne for £20 upon the surrender of John Webbe. Here in the margin Wood writes '*false*,' and Smith underlines the word and puts: 'This is Mr Wood's remark, but notwithstanding this remark and what Mr Wood relates in his account of Wadham Coll. the towne certainly had home in the A. Fryars.' Smith was quite correct, for in 1586 (*ibid.* p. 606), 'the towne agreed to purchase the Austyn friers and the fayre and

Mrs Catharynes house worth £15 a year of Mr Frere for £430 and if the City dislike the purchase within three yeres, then W^m Frere or his heyres to pay bake to the city £400 and have the Fryars again.' Also next year (*ibid.*): 'That the City goe forward with Mr Frere for the purchase of the grove and John Fletcher's house and all the rest of the ground of the Fryers for £180.' The sale by the City to Dorothea Wadham widow late wife of Nicholas Wadham of Merefield in the County of Somerset Knt. in 1611 (*Wood F.* 28, p. 265) mentions 'the priorie together with the fayre called the Augustyne Fayre within the sayde Scyte yearely to be holden.' Earlier than this there was a decree of the Council (*Tw.* 23, p. 592), in 1571, to allow 'Mr Edges to have a lease of 21 yeares of the tenement and shoppes in the Austyn Fryers for 40s. yerely and to do all manner of reparations about the Fayer place: the City to have the use of the pounds there to drive Portmede.'

The octagonal chapel of Our Lady next claims our attention, and about it there are two different theories. One is that it is upon a bastion of the city wall, the other that it was a chapel on a short bridge or causeway which led from Smithgate to Beaumont Street. In support of the former the three maps now published, by Agas, Hollar and Loggan, have been brought forward. These really are but one as regards this point. The knowledge of the position of the wall about here had been lost before Wood's time: an order was issued by the city to search for it in order to settle one point relating to Smithgate in the great Merton lawsuit. Hollar's map is virtually a copy of Agas's, and Loggan worked from one of them as a guide, with Wood to assist him. Foundations have been found in Cat Street running north and south, which were part of the city wall, and which showed that it turned northward here to reach as far north as this Chapel. In favour of the Chapel-bridge idea, or of its being detached from the walls at Smith Gate, there have been brought forward several arguments, some not very powerful, but one tolerably convincing, viz. that the plinth of the chapel is continuous round the east and south-east sides, and shows no indication of a wide wall having been joined to it. Those who advance this theory point to other facts: (1) Throughout the course of the north wall at least, the high ground marks the line of the walls, and the low ground the part outside the walls. (2) The ridge is direct from a bastion in the passage called St. Helen's towards the south-east of the Theatre, near which a bastion is known to have been situated. (3) The edge of this ridge

is very clearly marked, just as St. Helen's passage is entered from New College Lane, and does not lead to the octagon chapel. (4) The foundations seen in Cat Street (north and south) follow the line of houses known once to have been there, and are not wide enough to belong to the city wall. (5) A re-entering angle was almost unknown in early plans of fortification (one near St. Michael's churchyard is modern). (6) No document has been found which mentions such a corner as the first theory demands. Since this matter was ventilated, the amount of pond-sediment has proved much greater than was formerly believed, and is now supposed to extend some feet on the south of the chapel.

As to this chapel being a synagogue of the Jews, an octagonal building of this character would, in Hutten's days, have been something unusual, and therefore would demand an exceptional origin to be attributed to it. Though the panel over the south entrance gives plainly an angel, a scroll, a lily-pot, and a kneeling Mary, some of our antiquaries have given it the name of St. Margaret's Chapel, a name by which it is never called in documents. As early as the fourteenth century a paper of the Mayor's court (Tw. 23, p. 166) speaks of a quit rent out of Our Lady's chapel at the Smythegate 4*d.*, seemingly for an encroachment. The parish boundary of St. Peter's-in-the-East runs north of it, so that it is not in Holywell parish. The next reference, 1366, from the Small Red-book of the City (Tw. 23, p. 172) shows that it is the Vicar of St. Peter's who pays this rent of 4*d.* for the occupation of the *turrellum* of Smythegate with the image of St. Mary the Virgin. The Latin word *turrellum* is not so strictly confined to a small tower of defence or bastion as greatly to affect the question above mooted. An instance occurs in which it is applied to the round turrets at the east end of St. Peter's; and a small chapel of this kind, a species of dwarf tower, would be something like what the word would suggest in medieval days. These two references have an interest apart from that which arises from the word used, because they show that the chapel was built earlier than from the character of the masonry would be supposed, some of the earliest portions (e. g. the angular engaged shafts and string-course bosses) having been almost obliterated on the sides towards the street, but remaining on the side towards the east and north-east. After the Reformation the churchwardens of St. Peter's brought away a reredos or tabella from this octagonal chapel to their own church. This chapel should not be confounded with Our Lady's House, of

which Wood (D. 3, p. 269) says, It is 'the house adjoynd to St. Mary's entre in Cat Street as I have seen': this is further confirmed from the account on a following page, 'A tenement set on the E side in the middle of Cat Street with a garden annex called our Lady Haul 3*s.*' This is among the rents of St. Mary's Church and dated 1553 (*ibid.* p. 276). In 1583 (Tw. 23, p. 600) there were 'certaine appointed to treat with Martyn Colledge about the right and title to a piece of ground or ditch without Smythgate and an order taken that your chamberlaines should search the foundation of the towne wall by Toldervey's house that so it may be knowen to the Warden and fellowes of Merton College that they have no right to any house or ground within the same wall. It seems to be in Toldervey's backside dwellinge in the East-side of Smithgate.'

xii. Holywell.

The few halls and places of note to the north of Holywell Street will always prove a puzzling matter, as they are so seldom quoted. Sand Hall, Personer Hall, and Almshouse Place are therefore omitted here. **Fowke Hall** is worth mentioning as the suburban house of Richard Cary, the lessee of the *Domus Conversorum*, 1352; and 6*d.* rent from it, and the three acres of land belonging thereto, were assigned by John his son to St. Mary's Chantry in St. Martin's Church (Tw. 23, p. 549). At the extreme east we arrive at one of the many possessions of St. John's Hospital. In 1271 (V. p. 227) Henry the son of Roger le Waterman quit-claims to the hospital of St. John all right and claim in the entire land which Roger the Waterman his father once held of the Hospital, viz. the messuage situated between the way which leads to the mill of Holywell on one side and the hall called **Gryffyn** on the other. The ground on which the small tower there is built came to the Hospital by exchange. The Magdalen College muniments contain a writing of 1431, between Henry of Abingdon, Warden of Merton, and Richard Tewe, Master of the Hospital, concerning the exchange of a piece of land by Crowell included in the hospital garden, for a piece between Horsmyl lane on the west and Nightingale Hall on the east: to which is added by Wood—'probably their land which the tower in the wall now occupyes' (V. p. 227).

This is the end of Holywell Street on its northern side. On the south side of the street, as the City fish-ponds dried up when shut

off from their supply from the west, and as population increased, Merton College leased divers plots for building purposes; and hence the varied specimens of seventeenth-century houses on that side. It will be noticed that none of them are shown in Agas, 1578, whereas in Loggan, 1675, there are only three plots without houses in the entire range. Many of these houses were built in 1615 as a provision for the habitation of those who had to leave their dwellings in Catstreet when the eastern parts of Bodley's New Schools were built (Hester's Papers). Some of these are described as being near the water-course which Hutten speaks of later on.

At the east end of the street along which we have travelled a road runs north and south, Long Wall and St. Cross Road, and at the intersection there were, at different periods, several objects to attract observation. (1) The pillory. About 1270 (V. p. 226), Johanna de Burgh gives a rent from a house in the east of Holywell, between the way which goes to Holywell mill and the garden of St. John which was once William's of the pillory, situated in the said street near the stone cross near to Crowell in the parish of St. Cross. (2) The little tower, a square bastion like those already referred to which were on each side of East Gate in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (3) The gallows, put up by Merton, the lords of the manor, that people might be warned to behave themselves when they entered a new lordship. This gallows figures in the history of the University, for we read that when its members were ordered to take off their hats at St. Mary's service they upheld their privileges, and vowed they would

‘Be off to All Hallows,
Or the Church by the gallows,’

which would be either St. Peter's or St. Cross. The same edifying structure received the name of Gownsmen's Gallows about a hundred and twenty years ago, as we learn from Archdeacon Hare's *Story of my life* (i. 448), where Dr. Routh, the President of Magdalen, exclaims: ‘What, Sir, do you tell me, Sir, that you never heard of Gownsmen's Gallows? Why, I tell you, Sir, that I have seen two undergraduates hanged on Gownsmen Gallows in Holywell—hanged, Sir, for highway robbery.’ (4) Their place must have been taken, before 1800, by a milder instrument of the law's vengeance, a pair of stocks, as is shown by a drawing of Nattes' in 1804, and by one of about 1820 in Fletcher's copy of Gutch. The gallows shows very plainly in Agas, and it will be noticed that he puts Holywell as the

name for Crowell. While the present neighbourhood is occupying our attention, it is as well to note the omission of the alure to the west wall of Magdalen Grove—'gardaines' as our map calls it.

P. 133. 'The rest of the Ditch hath yet Water standing in it under the Towne Wall, enclosing on the one side New Colledge, and on the other Tenements leading to Holywell Church, which Church is consecrated by the name of St. Crosse, and is a Chappell of Ease, as is alsoe the Church of Woolvercott, unto the Parish of St. Peter's in the East. For though the wholl Suburbs beare the name of Holiwell, from a certaine Well att the East end thereof, yet the Church is dedicated to the Holy Crosse.'

Following our guide we take the road to the church, but we must first explain that it is the well north-west of the tower which Hutten regards as giving a name to the district, and that in calling it 'a well at the east end *thereof*,' he means at the east end of the *suburbs*. Loggan, it is true, draws a 'Hollywell' at the east end of the church, near his compass under the final letter of the name, with a pathway leading to it as if it were a place much frequented. This well was also highly esteemed, and its remnants may be seen by looking over the cemetery wall a little east of the Burgon memorials. But it was not held in such veneration as the well now under the altar in the chapel of the Manor House, at one time turned into a bathing place.

The church of the Holy Cross, or of the Invention of the Holy Cross (v. p. 96, *Pl.*), has a chancel arch that may well carry us back to D'Oilly's time, the star ornamentation on the abaci being cut so very shallow. It is probably not earlier, for when Domesday book was compiled there was but one church in D'Oilly's manor, viz. that of St. Peter. The south side of the tower arch is later in style; but a drawing of 1751 has preserved evidence of a doorway of Early English type on the north side. The same drawing suggests a north arcade to the nave, such as exists now; and Debased windows, with two square holes at the west, one for the gallery, the other for the pews beneath, were worked into or inserted in a wall which filled up the arches. The tower then stood clear of north and south aisles. Agas gives us a priest's or squire's door in the north wall of the chancel. His tower is twisted slightly round like others noticed in the introduction. His windows are not carefully placed; and

when he, or his engraver, endeavours to represent the hipped roof of the staircase of the tower, we see him at his worst. The little range of buildings looking towards the churchyard are the eight church-houses which were demolished in 1896.

On the north side of the church, is drawn the Manor House, the abode of the Napiers in Elizabeth's days; and a bridge over the mill-cutting, just outside of Agas's map, but shown in Loggan, is still called Napper's Bridge. The pigeon-house occupies a site very near to that of the cock-pit in later times.

We return to Crowell, the sluice for which was dug out about twenty years since, and looking along Magdalen wall we mark a certain gateway into the Grove, blocked up now, but old people say they remember the oak gate which hung in it. From that gateway straight down to Holywell mill we may perhaps find room for Runcival Street¹, occupied in the fifteenth century by servants or dependents of St. John's Hospital, described as living outside the Hospital Garden. The fourth road visible here is that 'along the walls' or 'between the long walls,' wrongly called 'the long walk.'

P. 138. 'From hence there is an easie prospect downwards, on both sides, haveing noething to be seene in it but the Towne Wall, enclosing New Colledge on the right hand, and another faier Wall enclosing Magdalene Colledge walke on the left.'

xiii. Ship Street to St. Peter's in the East.

'Returning, therefore, back againe unto the North Gate, wee will take all the Streets and Lanes on the East side of the Towne in order as they lie. And, first, the Church of St. Michaell is hard by us on the left hand of Bocardo, and giveth entrance into a Lane of the same name, wherein there is noething observable, but a few small Cottages on the Towne Wall on the left hand, and the backsides of Houses and Gardens on the right, 'till wee come to Jesus Colledge.'

As soon as we had passed the east boundary of St. Michael's churchyard, going along what is now Ship Street, there should,

¹ Wood (V. p. 227) gives other variants of this name, Bevesval and Benceval.

seemingly almost as late as Elizabeth's reign, have been a **Laurence Lane**, branching to the left towards Balliol College, and a Colesbourne lane almost facing it on the right. Just to show that the former is not a mere freak of imagination, here is a document or two in evidence. Twyne (23, p. 257) notes the counterpart of a lease dated 1 February 1545, made by Richard Gunter the mayor to Richard Flexney of Oxford, fishmonger, of a tenement situate in a lane called Laurencelane adjoining to the churchyard of St. Michael at North Gate at the east side of the same church, rent 6s. 8d. A meeting of the council about the same time (Tw. 23, p. 587) agreed that Ralfe Flaxney shall have 'a tenement sett and being in a lane called Laurence Hall lane adjoininge to the churchyarde of St. Michael at the east end of the same church.' The Hall went by another name in early times. In a city account of 1427 (Tw. 23, p. 507) a rent is mentioned, of 10s. per annum receivable from John Shawe for the hall which is called Stapull-ledyn-halle now Laurence Hall. The leaden steeple probably means a turret over a circular staircase, covered with lead, not with the usual shingles; and the words 'east end of the church' may possibly include the entrance passage to the old Ship Inn, from whence egress northward would be near the projecting angle in the walls. Tracing this lane southward, we seem to lose it for a time till we come to the west fence of Jesus College, and then we learn from drawings that when Market Street was crossed it ran southward along the west side of the present market and so into the High Street.

New Inn, as mentioned before, was the medieval structure facing the church. It became an appendage to Burnell's Inn in St. Aldate's. This is apparent from a St. Michael's rental of 1424 (Tw. 23, p. 508): Received of John Hertipole lately the tenant of the Master and Scholars of Burnelyn now London Colledge for our Tenement formerly Dionysia Burewald's and lately John Gybbes. It was leased by the parishioners of the church for a term of a hundred years. And Twyne adds: 'note that John Gybbes in his time again included it in his inn situated in the same parish, and the same John Gybbes and Walter Daundesey blocked up again a certaine Lane, called in our indenture Someneres Lane, by their buildings rebuilt there, and that the said Lane of old time was called Dewylane, afterward Denys Burewald Lane, which note for a truth.' It seems rather improbable that St. Michael's Lane itself was closed, though Twyne thought this was the meaning. There may be a way out of the difficulty by

supposing that 'blocked' refers to a merely partial obstruction of the way.

The position of Elm Hall and Stoke Hall, both somewhere near here, has not been ascertained. **Leadenporche Hall** (perhaps Willoughby), one of several of the name, would come next, probably near the Jesus stables. Mr. Boase, in his Register of Exeter College (O. H. S. xxvii, pp. xiv, xv), supplies us with the only clear piece of information as to its site. Thus: 'On 20 May 1323 Stapeldon granted them (the Rector and scholars of Stapeldon Hall) Ledene-porche in Cornwall street, between North gate and Smythe gate, which the Bishop had received from John (son of William) le Spycer and Alice his wife.' 'On 3 Nov. 1336 Alice widow of John de Maydenstone quitclaimed to the Rector and Scholars for Ledene-porche, between Bruneshalle on the east and the tenement of Robert de la Bache on the west.' An old endorsement describes it as Ledene-porch in the parish of St. Michael, a garden near White Hall. A like endorsement occurs on a second lease to Richard Salesburgh of Oxford; Leden porch between a tenement of the same Richard on the west and a place Fouks-yne on the east. No date is given, but Wood thought it of the time of Richard II. As to its being one of the Willoughby Halls, the only authority is Wood's surmise (V. p. 86): 'in Bryan Twyne among the archives of Corpus, p. 59, is an extract of ancient halls, out of a rentall which belonged to St. John's Hospital, in which I find thus: Willoughby hall in the occupation of Exeter College in the parish of St. Michael at North gate which perhaps may be the same with this Ledinporch.' In *City* (i. p. 68, note 5 (a)) Wood's MSS. add: 'In the middle of this lane, about Jesus College ball-court, Exeter College hath a tenement. (Soe Mr. French).' By 1504 the site had become empty (V. p. 321): 'In an account it appears that Exeter College garden (in Somnores Lane, where I suppose Leadenporch hall stood) was situated on the west side of White Hall.' Regarding **White Hall** we have this in the Chancellor's accounts of 1447 (D. 3, p. 80): White Hall which is called Little, near the northern walls, i. e. not an encroachment upon the way-under-the-walls but on the same side of the way as Jesus College. **Plummer** or Plomer Hall was near Laurence Hall, and as the University Register for 1447 shows (D. 3, p. 81), it must have been at a corner: Plomery's Place, lying between the Hall of St. Laurence on the west and a garden of the Abbess of Godstow on the south. To put it north-east of the site of Jesus College

makes it suit the above, but it supposes a second Laurence Hall in the same Lane.

P. 138. 'Jesus Colledge, whose Garden having passed there lieth a faire Streete before us, (P. 139) crossing our way, and passing through a posterne Gate into the Suburbs over against Trinity Colledge. And here wee should proceed on our waie, but that the now Chappell of Exeter Colledge hath stopt our passage.'

The street which comes at the end of Ship Street is The Turl, whose name has already been discussed. Previously to 1623, the passenger could have gone on, across the street, due east, keeping the city wall, or what remained of it, on his left. He would go through the present Lodgings of the Rector of Exeter, through his garden, south of the Sheldonian Theatre and north of the Divinity School. Hutten writes 'the *now* chapel,' just as we say 'the *then* monarch,' and he means what to him was the *present* chapel. The chapel of the College had been removed a short time before.

In 1852 or 1853 a bastion was laid bare in the second or north quadrangle of the College. In 1698 (Phillips MSS. 16043, ii. p. 40) we have a long deposition made by Dr. Bury upon the question at what time the right of way was stopped against the public; and slight traces of the roadway, a gutter probably, have been observed in the Rector's garden, as well as of a wall and road touching it, south of the Theatre. Further east still, the site of another bastion, and of the road north of the Old Schools onward to Cat Street, are clearly marked, with measurements, on a map in the Bodleian, executed when the area south of the Old Clarendon Building was about to be cleared for its erection. On the south of this street, called Somenore's and even Summer's (i. e. Summoner's) Street, which at this point ran only a few yards south of Broad Street, there stood, behind posts and rails, the buildings of **Exeter College**, then presenting an appearance such as in Bereblock's drawing, made for Queen Elizabeth's visit, and reproduced by Whittlesey in the margin of his map. When looking at this, we should remember that the tower still remains, almost hemmed in by buildings, at the east end of the modern chapel. Observe also in Bereblock's drawing the key that crowns the western gable of the old chapel; it is an architectural whimsey as curious as any in Oxford. Agas's sketch of the college will now be understood,

and two buildings will be recognized which run straight south from the front range—Bentley's Nest and the old Refectory.

East of the college, but after an interval which Agas does not mark, came the Divinity Schools, built on ground acquired from Balliol; then a passage north and south, once the north end of the Schools Street, Pig-market in later phrase; and then the Marian Schools built on the foundations of the older Oseney Schools. The Marian Schools seem long in proportion, but surely Bereblock cuts them too short, perhaps to suit his page. Doubtless both artists worked to the best of their ability; but why have they, like all historians of old Oxford, left us in doubt about the east porch of the Divinity School? We can see what looks like a preparation for it. Was it ever carried out? Or shall it be said that its existence is mythical? The documentary evidence about the old buildings on the site of which Exeter College stands, need not be repeated, but the Divinity School site is accounted for as follows. In Savage's *Balliofergus* (p. 34) we read that in 1317 'Jeffrey Horkstow and Richard de Staynton, gave <to Balliol> a Tenement within the Walls of *Oxford*, in the Parish of St. *Mildred*; which is that whereon the Divinity Schools stand, as is evident by the Lease thereof granted to the University of 99 Years beginning 1427.' 'The Lease is therefore expired¹ now 135 Years. The Rent is 7s. *per annum*: The measure of the Ground is precisely set forth in the lease, together with the situation thereof, by the name of one void place of land within the Walls of *Oxon*, situate between *Exeter* Colledge on the West part, and the School-street on the East: from whence one end abbutts upon *Exeter*-lane towards the North [this *Exeter*-lane was the *Pomærium* between *Exeter* Colledge and the Town-wall, which before the building of the present Chappel there, was our way to the Schools] and the other Head of it abbutts upon the Ground or Tenement of the Abbot and Convent of *Dorchester*, and of *Balliol*-hall, by *Mildred*-lane, to the South-ward; and it contains in length from North to South, 171 Feet and 5 Inches; and the greatest breadth thereof in any place is 130 Feet.' As the building measures internally only eighty feet by thirty-two, it is clear that the ground quite up to the City wall (as far as the Theatre, and to the east as far as Queen Mary's Schools), is included in the above, and it follows that the 'via sub muro' was stopped before 1427 in this part of Oxford. For the

¹ Viz. anno 1661.

Bodleian of modern days additional ground on the west was purchased of Exeter.

Torald School comes next, when the old Schools Street is passed. There still exist parish boundary-crosses on the north and south fronts of the Schools; it is therefore the first house in St. Mary's parish along this street. It is described first of all in 1259 as the house at the corner with an elm (V. p. 456), and it had a Hall joined to it. In 1276 the house is not mentioned, but a new solar above the Hall of Torald paid rent (V. p. 425). In 1278 the cellar at the corner is mentioned, as well as the upper room (V. p. 461), implying perhaps that both were used for lectures. There was much fluctuation in the demand for schools both in Schools Street and Cat Street. Other corners about here are so well accounted for, that the angle of the Schools nearest to the south-east of Sheldon's Theatre can scarcely be anything else than the corner of Torald's School.

Littlemore School came next, as we gather (V. p. 474) from the Oseney rentals, and it was in Cat Strete, west of the street, but whether as far north as we are considering, i. e. touching Somnore's Lane, is not clear.

Going farther east, crossing Cat Street and keeping under the City wall, we come to the site of the modern Hertford College, the corner tenement of which was **Great Black Hall** in Cat strete, frequently quoted as a west boundary of Hert Hall Boase, O. H. S. xxvii. 284-8). A charter of St. Frideswyde's of the year 1314 (*Wi.* 539) places it within the gate of Smythegate, and in Wood's *City* (i. 596) the Hall is described as opposite Smith Gate. The changes in and about this corner of Hertford College have been numerous since Cole drew his map in 1713, and excavations made about 1895 have reminded us that its entire west front has been thrust back about half the width of the present street. There were also houses blocking up the north end of Cat Street, and causing the middle of the Smith Gate opening to face a point, in Hertford College, about twenty-five feet along New College Lane eastward. The general direction of most of the boundaries was, both in front of and behind the Old Clarendon Buildings, east-north-east, not parallel with the northern face of Bodley's Schools¹. Agas makes as little as possible of these angles and projections, and even Loggan deals tenderly with them, both wishing Cat Street to look a more reasonable outlet than we know it was

¹ This was probably the direction of the City wall, to judge from the part of it laid bare when the area south of the Clarendon Building was opened in 1898.

before the days of James I. The latter engraver places a Maypole in front of Hert Hall (north of it), apparently secured at its base by being wedged in the hub of a massive cartwheel as was the country fashion: it is in fine contrast with the gallows shown by Agas in other places. **Hart Hall**, the next building to the east, is still in part left to us, the oldest part of the present College. Many particulars of it, once the home of the Scholars of Stapledon, whose Hall became Exeter College, are given in Mr. Boase's Register (vol. xxvii. of this series).

The next Hall is a Seld or **Shield Hall**, but its north face stood some feet farther north than the present north side of Hertford, reaching within thirty feet of the imperfect bastion in St. Helen's Passage. It is frequently given as the east boundary of Hert Hall. From this point to the west of New College Chapel is uncertain ground. No arrangement of sites seems to suit all the documents. The difficulty is to determine the direction of the old road or lane which we will call by the name St. John's Street as Agas does, though he is clearly in error. It ran from the corner of Black Hall through the northern half of the cloisters of New College till the chapel wall was reached, then turning south close under the chapel and the college gateway, it joined the present lane near the north-west angle of Queen's College. Such at least is a plausible inference from Wood's paper (MS. F. 28, p. 136), which Dr. Woodward supplied to him: The mayor aldermen &c. confirm to the lord bishop of Winton, to the warden and scholars and their successors, a certain lane or common way which extends from Hart Hall eastwards toward the enclosure (*clausum*) of the said college and thence to a corner of the said college towards the south near the enclosure (*clausum*, therefore not cloister in either case) of Queen Hall, that they may block up the said way, destroy it and include the site with the other lands of the College and for ever have and hold it as their own: instead thereof the Bishop shall make another lane and so apportion it for ever in a suitable place on their own soil, for the greater reputation and quiet of the college and for the convenience of the entire town. The cost of the lane was £100 paid to the Mayor. In the agreement of August, 1379, as the City records show, the old lane from Hamerhal southward was to be excepted, and it was not till November, 1388, that the cloister was arranged for and the consequent change made in the direction of this lane. By the earlier arrangement (*ibid.*) the College was

answerable *inter alia* for the construction repair and perpetual maintenance of eighteen perches of the wall west of the great chapel towards Smithgate, the perches being our own of $16\frac{1}{2}$ ft.; by the latter it was allowed to throw down a round tower and twelve perches of wall, and to build another tower thirty-four feet square, and to rebuild the wall along the said twelve perches. These twelve perches reach from the west face of the chapel to the east edge of the house near the imperfect bastion in 'Hell-lane' or St. Helen's Passage.

	ft. in.
The distance from chapel wall to cloister wall is	16 8
Thickness of cloister wall	3 0
Thence to the east side of the bell-tower . . .	19 10
" " west " " " . .	30 9
" " east side of the brick house . . .	142 1
Total	212 4

Returning to Shield Hall from our necessary digression, we proceed eastward, and passing over a house of one of the Torolds, we come to **Maiden Hall**. Of the position of this, the most distinct description is in a charter (V. p. 246) whereby, in 1387, the Master and scholars of the Hall of the University granted to Geoffrey Wykam, professor of theology, a house in the parish of St. Peter called Mayden Hall, situate between Scheldhall on the west side and Hamer Hall on the east. In the early part of the next year New College took a lease of it, in order to enlarge their premises. The year afterwards, in another description (*ibid.*) its north boundary is given, viz. the street by which people go from Smethgate towards the college of St. Mary, while Hammer Hall becomes More Hammer Hall, and the south boundary is a garden belonging to Queen Hall. Though Great Hammer Hall is in 1387 and 1389 (V. p. 246 bis) put east of the last, we have in 1388 (V. p. 249) an **Oven Hall** intervening, as appears by an indenture showing that William of Wyckam bishop of Winchester gave to John Bokeland Abbot of Oseney and Hugh Banbirey prior there, £20 for a tenement in St. Peter's parish called Hamer Hall and for a garden of the said Abbot and Prior and convent lying near a hall called Ovenhall on the *west* part of the said hall. This place may have been too insignificant for notice, or perhaps its boundary line had been defaced; at any rate it is almost impossible for Oven Hall to have been east of Great Hammer Hall, otherwise measurements to the east

along the walls would now and then be reckoned from it and not from the other. So Dr. Woodward puts it, and adds: 'This More Hammer Hall then did . . . tak up the ground of about the easterne halfe of the cloysters soe farr as to the Chappell or the Colledge Gate.'

Eastward lay a very large piece of property, extending from the west end of the chapel to the City wall in one direction and from the north wall of the City to Queen's College Lane on the south. That this last has remained steady, as a respectable landmark ought to do, is tolerably plain, as well on other grounds as from the evidence of one or two early house-fronts still remaining. This large area, though given up to New College in 1379, is best described in a document of 1415 (V. p. 247): John Gybbys mayor of Oxon gives evidence concerning the place where New College was founded; that at the time of the foundation of the said college and for many years previously, the place had been empty barren and derelict without inhabitants but dangerous on account of a concourse thither by day and night of evil doers congregating there; now many years ago many deep pits and caverns had been made there by the abstraction of gravel and sand, wherein thieves and malefactors often lay concealed, whence homicides took place and other evil deeds many and intolerable were perpetrated; this gave rise to alarms and great disturbances of the peace, and the seeds of discord were scattered or sprung up both in the town and in the university; moreover into the same spot were cast dung, corpses of dead animals and their intestines, and whatever else was stinking or unpleasant was hidden or buried. So runs his testimony. The City, the Mayor, Littlemore, St. Frideswyde's and the Trinitarians were the separate owners; and in their transfer they treated their properties *en masse* without specifying the several parts which they held. The various legal processes through which buyers and sellers went before the transactions were complete, are carefully noted (V. pp. 247-251, and more fully MS. F. 28, pp. 121-2). One of these documents treats of the Underwalls, then possessed by the Trinitarians; and if any one will take the trouble to work out the lengths of their two sections of the City wall still enclosing two sides of the New College site, he will, by checking them with a good map, have a proof that our standard of length has not much changed since 1379. It is a charter of confirmation to the Trinitarians, previous to their transferring their property to the Founder of New College on Aug. 1, 1379. By this

charter the Mayor and commonalty of Oxford confirm to the Brethren of the Holy Trinity at Oxford three separate pieces in the Underwall of Oxford, being those which they have hitherto held. Of these one piece reaches from the postern nearest towards Smith Gate to the yard of the chapel of Holy Trinity beyond East Gate, joined on the north side to the chapel of the same, and held by the Brethren as a perpetual gift of the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswyde. It is in length from west to east sixty perches and from north to south twenty-six perches and two feet. Two other plots are then mentioned, reaching to Runcival Hall. Another charter of this series refers to a garden of Queen's College, north of St. Peter's Church. The portion of the walls which the Bishop agreed to repair is defined in the agreement between the Town and himself (Tw. 23, p. 139) as the repairing and restoring and perpetual sustaining of the said wall from the postern called Wyndesore Postern near to Smythgate (an error of Twyne's for Eastgate) as far as another postern near to East (should be Smith) gate. A glance at the difference of masonry will show that fully threequarters of the eastern wall was rebuilt or refaced internally, at a date later than the rest.

A page or so back a review was made of the halls west of New College chapel, and facing the north wall of the City; there are now to be considered some other halls south of these. South of Great Hammer Hall was Little Hammer Hall, having its position well defined. South of this, and facing the westernmost section of the present New College Lane was **Temple Hall**, acquired from Queen's College in 1392 (MS. F. 28, 122 b). Queen's College then quitclaimed to New College all its right in a garden¹ where Tempell Hall was formerly situated, between the lane from St. Peter's to Smethe gate on the east, the garden of Hert Hall on the west, a garden once called Little Hammer Hall and Mayden Hall on the north, and the gardens of St. Thomas's chantry in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and a garden where lately was the hall of St. Nicholas on the south. **St. Nicholas Hall** stood at the angle, as above, and from its size or position caused this longest section to be called 'the Lane from St. Nicholas Hall to St. Peter's Church.' Temple Hall had Dendamore Hall to the south, as appears from a Queen's College document (V. p. 127), dated 1315, whereby John the son of William de Colesbourne of Oxford grants to farm to William de Osberston a messuage called Le Temple Hall in the parish of St. Peter,

¹ This is the present garden of the Warden of New College.

between the tenement of the Hospital of St. John called Le Hamers Hall on the north, and a tenement of Oseney called Dendamour Hall on the south; rent 100s. per an. Beyond St. Peter's church and to the east there was a plot of ground, seemingly the south wing of New College gardens. In 1391 (V. p. 244) Queen's College transferred, together with Temple Hall and certain void plots, other plots between the Town Wall on the east, St. Peter's graveyard and S. Edmund's Hall on the west, and the walls of the gardens, tenements of the Hospital of St. John, towards the High Street, on the south. This piece of ground was once New College ball-court; in Agas it is called their orchard. There is another document granting seizin of the same, which also gives us, as the north boundary, the garden of the Vicar of St. Peter's, itself a doubtful point, though we know that his house was in the north-east angle of the churchyard.

Whether the long section of the lane extended eastward towards a postern in the city wall is a question almost answered by a document of 1378 (V. p. 247) which records that John Gybbes mayor, Thomas Somerset and John Shaw bailiffs and the entire community of Oxford granted to Adam of the Ryver Alice his wife and Hugh his son (who had been supervisors of the north and east walls from the gate Smithgate as far as East gate when they were repaired) a void place in the parish of St. Peter reaching in breadth from the corner of the house of the vicar of St. Peter facing the same church, as far as the postern of John of Windsore in the great wall of the town towards the east and from that postern lengthwise near the aforesaid wall towards the west to a certain boundary (meta) of the wall, which boundary Richard of Selewode once mayor made before the first pestilence: on the inside of which wall there were four boundary stones: (Twyne adds: 'I do not understand:'). The payment was to be one rose on St. John Baptist's day. If the lane ran in a direct line it would have passed just under the wall at the north of the churchyard, and though Agas places the vicar's house in the way, Loggan leaves sufficient room.

From the study of many old documents belonging to the property in this neighbourhood, we are led to the conclusion that somewhere in a lane produced to Windsore postern, there were Stevens' land and the Anchorite's (perhaps they lay north of the church or near the vestry); that on the north side facing the vicar's house were Spalding's Court, Bokeland's Tenement and Bull Hall (V. p. 252);

that beyond the vicar's house (east) stood Marcel or Martel's house (V. pp. 196, 228, 231); that next in succession came Wlpis, Middle and Corner Halls (V. p. 231), southward and facing the churchyard; and that on the south side there were other halls also looking into the churchyard. The general impression obtained is rather that of a village green with cottages dotted around it, as in pre-enclosure times, irregularly, without any formal fences or rows of buildings.

Haysche Hall (V. p. 231), the property of St. John's Hospital, is described in 1294 as in the graveyard, which, as far as can now be surmised, lay to the south-west. The **Crutched Friars** had their second habitation somewhere upon the lane, produced as supposed above. **Maryol Hall** also lies near here; 'about the east end of St. Peter's Church' is Wood's remark (*City*, i. 105); and, judging from the order in a rental of St. John's Hospital, there should be a Chimney Hall further on.

At the Eastern end of the lane was the City wall; and access was attainable, by a postern, to a strip of ground now called Long-wall, in Agas's time almost vacant and with only a small stream coursing down it. This was the result of an agreement that the warden and fellows of New College should entirely block up and for ever get rid of the trenches, stews, or fish ponds under the tower at the north angle towards the east and south, between Smith Gate and East Gate, that is between the two stone walls of the town (Hester's papers). Excavations on this side of the City reveal a subsoil greatly differing from the gravel elsewhere. It is a soft peat, and to keep in good repair a road over it would be very difficult. Twyne (23, p. 397), quoting from a bundle of charters about S. Cross, gives a letter in Norman French, to the following effect:—Edward, elder son of the noble King of England and France, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, to our beloved the mayor and bailiffs of Oxenford, greeting. As we have understood that the way between East gate in Oxford and Crowell towards Wodestock has become so hollow and perilous that no one can pass by there without great mischief; and as this way is that by which our very dear Lord and father the King is accustomed to take his passage towards the neighbourhood of Wodestocke, and the neglect (*le legier*) may do him mischief hereafter, which God forbid, we ask you and the council that as soon as possible they amend the road and make it fit to traverse both for the King and for all men: Given at our court of Byfleet the third day of January. The writer is clearly Edward the Black

Prince, and the date either between 1340 and 1360 or between 1369 and 1376. The reply to this is almost as polite as the Prince's message (Tw. 23, p. 396): 'Before we give orders for the repair of the road between Eastgate and Crowell on the way to Woodstock we humbly submit that your Lordship would please to understand that your servants have never been charged with the maintenance of this road nor do we know to whom it doth pertain. We would beg the lord the King to issue a writ to the sheriff of Oxeneford to inquire what people ought, and have been wont to repair the said road, and we will do the utmost in our power to assist in the matter.' It is clear however that the City had to attend to the fosse there. In the accounts of 1310 (Tw. 23, p. 227) occur charges, For the men appointed to drag the pool outside East Gate: and again in 1395 (*ibid.* p. 239) To watching the fish and those also pertaining to the Brethren.

Before we make our return journey, a few architectural features of the very remarkable church of **St. Peter** should be noticed. At the east end are two turrets, the four small openings in each of which (now closed) were apparently made for an outlook over the streams; a species of watch tower to guard the approach to East Gate. The eastern gable shows on both sides that a habitation of two stories in height once existed over the groined roof of the chancel, perhaps a priest's room. A way from the north would admit anyone to the turrets. The vestry at the north-west shows that there was once a house there, in addition to that in the corner. The exterior arcading south of the chancel with one or two ornamental shafts should not be overlooked; nor the remarkable porch, with a groined room over it forming a convenient muniment room. Observe too the Early Decorated tower, with walls rapidly diminishing in thickness, like Carfax and the earlier tower of St. George within the Castle; the glorious south door, now of two orders and a half, but once of four of nearly equal width, the outer one smothered up in the porch walls, the inner one trimmed away by the barbarians of the eighteenth century, the double row of star ornaments now being scarcely traceable and the doorspace robbed of its original proportions. It will be for the next century to lower the porch floor, show this inner order, and so reveal the beauties of the doorway. In the interior there are to be observed the unique groining of the sanctuary; the so-called chain-moulding, which proves to be made up of sections of older groining ribs, and of Norman ornaments, most probably from

the imposts of an earlier chancel arch; the blank doorway south of the chancel, very primitive Norman or even Saxon; the arrangement of the ambulatory, remarkably complete for so small a structure, having four spiral staircases; the design of those staircases; the fine Early English arcade on the north of the nave; and the two beautiful Decorated windows on the north. But the central point of interest is the twelfth-century crypt, having capitals of peculiar design to several of the shafts, and four of the bases ornamented with spurs formed by the heads of lizard-shaped animals. There are survivals of Scandinavian and Roman taste in some parts of the church which are not easily accounted for.

The churchwardens' accounts, now beautifully preserved, begin in 1444; one page of a preceding year has been lost since Wood's time. (For the Grimbald myth, see *Pl.* pp. 42 and 101.)

New College again is richly deserving of notice, the cloisters, bell-tower, chapel and hall, as good examples of Wykeham's design, the subsellae as remarkable examples of carving which the present age half neglects. It is when the entire group of buildings is viewed as a whole, that the unwise treatment of 1674 calls up the deepest regrets. There certainly were square windows here and there in the original design; but the conversion of the simple and effective windows into sash-openings, and the addition of a third story to three sides of the quadrangle, destroyed the beauty of the design and dwarfed the very two erections which showed the master's hand.

xiv. Market Street to All Souls.

P. 139. 'The next Lane from Bocardo in the Corne Market is called Jesus Colledge Lane, and bringeth us to the South side of that Colledge, and endeth in Alhallowes Streete, where wee were before, haveing noething but some few Tenements, Backsides and Garden Doores on either hand. And here betweene the Posterne Gate (which was mentioned before) and this Corner on the left hand, there are faire Entrances into two Colledges, opposite one to the other, *vizt.* Jesus Colledge (on the left) and Exeter Colledge on the right hand.'

Jesus College Lane is known also as Cheyney, Adynton, Bedford, Holdierd and St. Mildred's, the latter title being also applied, more

correctly, to its eastern continuation, south of Exeter College. It is now Market Street. The pillory most probably stood at the entrance of this street, but till the whole of Nicholas Bishop's Collection has been examined we cannot be sure, for there are notes there about its removal. It seems not improbable that the west part of the lane was Colesborne's, the property of Osney, and that the lane which was blocked up and led to a contest with Bishop may be one which went south through the Roebuck Inn and came out westwards through the inn gateway. The history of the affair, 1427, is taken as follows from Nicholas Bishop (Tw. 23, p. 412): On the Wednesday next before the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the time of the making of the stone wall of the free tenement of the Abbot of Osney situated on the south side within Colesborne Lane, d^s John, canon-brother and manciple or kitchen-steward of Osney, told Nicholas Bishop, the writer, that the said Abbot and Convent had a common way or curved lane in that lane called now Colesbournelane, as is still partly shown, towards their free tenement, inhabited by James Porter and held by him of the said Abbot at 16s. per annum. This tenement extended lengthwise from the lane called Colesbourne to the lane now called Cheney Lane; and a certain Henry a brewer and Aubrey his wife in the time of Edward III or thereabout, as it is said, maintaining this common way or lane with drawers (ductoribus) of water and having ingress and egress for their horses and waterbolges daily, it happened in 1328 that certain scholars of Chymney Hall were injured and bruised there by the panniers with the said waterbolges, whereupon the said scholars took a staff or two from the said waterbolges and assaulted Henry Brewer and killed him, and afterwards that lane was blocked up. The 'chain' was at the East end of the Lane (Godst. Chartul.).

The northern side, as soon as the street is entered, belongs to Christ Church, seemingly a part of their Osney property. Before Jesus College is reached, probably comes **Corner Hall**, but there is no evidence to bring forward. 'In St. Mildred Street, within St. Michael parish north' is nearly all the information given in five documents. **Nun Hall** is perhaps next, but also quite uncertain. **Great White Hall**, however, is well known to have been near the south-east angle of the present Jesus College; it is shown in Agas and is well known to those who have explored the Jesus documents. There is an early notice of it among the Osney writings: Luke de Wurthe, being then Vicar of Cowley and dominus of Edmund

Hall, gave *c.* 1200 *f.* (V. p. 397), to Osney 40*s.* 10*d.* of rent in the town of Oxford which he bought of Sir Fulke de Rucothé Knt. viz. of the land which Mr. Thomas de Bristolle once held in Oldherdestreet 11*s.*, of the land which John Suppethuf held in the same street 11*s.*, about the time of Robert the son of Robert Oweyn and of Philip Burgeis. Wood notes 'Whether this Oldherdestreet be Silverstreet—Noe.—The same was afterwards called Cheyney Lane and 'twas called Oldherde street from one Thomas Holdierd. In the means you must note that this was once a Street but by purpeytures became a lane.' Thomas Holdierd occurs, *c.* 1224 (V. p. 520), where the witnesses are more easily dated. In 1447 (Wood D. 3, p. 86), in a register of the Chancellor's Court, the two White Halls come side by side—the Greater 'in the parish of St. Michael in the chained (catheno) street,' and the other 'under the Walls.' Perhaps the most useful document for position is one of about 1262 (*Wi.* 638): where Lambert Burewald gives his house in the parish of St. Mildred between the land of William de Ho towards the west and the land once of Thomas le Prude toward the east, showing it was not quite an angular tenement. **Chimney Hall** on the south side is said by Wood to have been half way along the street. There exists in the Osney muniments at St. Frideswyde's a series of documents about this Hall, called in 1259 *m.* (V. p. 519) the stone house of the Toralds, Peter and Robert. A Jeffrey Toral, relationship uncertain, gave it to Osney in 1259 (*ibid.*). Wood supplies the position in 1348: 'in Cheyney Lane on the South side in St. Mildred's parish, next on the east side as I think of the backway into the Rowbuck, as in a dimission of 22 Edw. III it appears.'

The street 'where wee were before' is the Turl, or preferably the Street to the Turl; and its southern half is now to be considered. The first spot of importance was St. Mildred's Hall or Pompe Tenement. It was well known to Miles Windsor who speaks of it thus (*Bal.* p. 42): Mildred's Hall not far from Mildred's Church in a garden, or behind the house of the Maiden's Head; and Mr. A. Clark recognizes it (*City*, i. 124, note 8) as No. 10 Turl Street, the house next south of the Maidenhead. In the records of the Chancellor's Court, 1445 (D. 3, p. 71), we have: d^s Scharp lays down caution for a certain garden in the parish of St. Michael situated opposite Lyncoln College between St. Mildred's Hall and the land of the Abbess of Studely which garden is the land of Abendon Abbey. The Abingdon property may have been only a lane, as is

probable from the next document, of 1384 (Tw. 23, p. 351), wherein Wm. Bergeveney and three others, supervisors of nuisances, present that a certain earthen wall containing in length seventeen royal ells in the parish of St. Mildred Oxon, with the adjacent place between the tenement of the Abbey of Osney called Mildredhall on the south and the tenement of Stodle on the north, is the wall of the Abbot of Abyndon with the aforesaid place, and this wall the Abbot is bound to keep in order: John le cleric and Alice his wife, tenants of Abyndon Abbey, say that the wall has fallen down ten feet to the injury of the Prioress of Stodle; order issued for repair. Earthen or turf walls were not much in use in the fourteenth century; from these to the palings which Agas gives us, and thence to the stone wall or iron fencing, we may observe three stages in the methods of enclosing property. The remainder of this side of the Turl we shall see hereafter.

P. 140. 'But wee follow on our waie directly betweene the Southside of Exeter Colledge and the Northside of Lincolne and Brasen Nose Coll. Att the end of which Lane there is an Entrance from St. Marie's into the common Schooles.'

Crossing Turl street as thus proposed, we come to the site of **St. Mildred's Church** and churchyard. The church lay wholly in what is now the north part of Lincoln first quadrangle; the churchyard reached up to Exeter College wall, indeed at the eastern end it may have encroached upon their present boundary¹; it also reached about six feet into the Turl. The church, as described in documents, seems to have been in a line with Little Deep Hall, described in a rental of St. John's Hospital of the year 1294 (V. p. 232) as next to the church and east of it. The churchyard is mentioned in 1439 (V. p. 58) when Edmund Andever the Prior of St. Frideswyde's granted to John Beke the Rector of Lincoln College and to the Fellows of the same two messuages in Oxon, whereof one commonly called Brendhall, upon which was then built the tower over the west gate of the College, lay between the garden lately of Robert Graumford of South Newton on the south, and the cemetery lately of the church of St. Mildred on the north. In 1435 (Tw. 23, p. 392) the Burgesses of Oxon leased to Mr. John Cooke Warden or Rector and to the

¹ This may account for a grave found in Exeter, containing a number of small silver coins, and the stone figure of a king's head now secured in the cellar wall at the extreme south-east, and said to be over the spot where it was discovered.

Scholars of Lincoln College for the enlargment of the College a certain parcel of land adjoining the said College in St. Mildred's lane containing in length from the west towards the east (beginning from the east angle of the cemetery of the church lately of St. Mildred, Oxon) one hundred and three feet; the width at the same angle being thirteen feet, at the middle eleven feet and two thumbs: and the breadth of the said lane from the same angle being seventeen feet nine thumbs¹, and in the middle sixteen feet, and at the east end of the said parcell of land twenty-three feet. Dated at Oxford, 1 Aug., 13 Hen. VI.

South of the churchyard or of a lane on its south side came **Brend Hall**, the first mention of which is in a coroner's inquest of 1313, at the time of the contests between north and south (Tw. 23, p. 155): Matthew of Kenthelekys in Wales was found dead in Brendhall near the Church of S. Mildred, stabbed by John de Fulney with a knife.

The grant from St. Frideswyde's Priory to Lincoln College in 1439, quoted above, also shows us the situation of Graumford's garden, elsewhere called Craumford's Hall. This Hall, Mr. Clark tells us, was, at the time of the foundation, void ground, and here the Bishop began his building².

Proceeding south, **Hampton Hall** is to be noticed with its alias of Little Bodyn. The first notice of this occurs in about 1262 (*Wi.* 636), when Juliana Bodyn gives a small rent from it, for charity's sake, to St. Frideswyde's. In 1328 (*V.* p. 11) the Hampton family have possession of it, possibly through marriage with the heiress of the Bodyns, and Eva de Hampton and two executors of the will of John de Hampton, sometime Apothecary of Oxford, acknowledge to have received of William de Hampton, Clerk, £33 15s. in part payment of £45, which the said William owed them for the purchase of a hall called Hampton Hall in the Parish of St. Mildred. When this William died, 1336, the property is described (*ibid.*) as between the tenement of John the Saucer on the north and the tenement once of Nicholas the mercer on the south. In 1347 (*V.* p. 12) John de Berford, as one of the executors of Margaret, daughter of John Bost, and others, granted it to Masters Roger of Aswardby and Laurence of Radford, Fellows of University, as she

¹ A thumb's width is about one inch:—a foot rule, a thumb rule, 'by rule of thumb.'

² *History of Lincoln College* (1898), p. 4: cf. also *City*, i. 124, note 4.

wished it to be sold. It is mentioned as Bodyn Hall, *c.* 1262, and again in 1374, when it is made evident that the two names apply to the same hall, for University College being behindhand in a reserved rent upon the hall, it was agreed in 1374 (*Wi.* 464) at the parvise in St. Paul's, London, that the college should partly pay and partly give security to St. Frideswyde's for a rent of five shillings from Hamptonehalle of old called Bodyn.

As to the College which occupies the sites of all these old Halls, it may be truly said that Lincoln is a typical example of college building. It is mainly of two stories, and only partly disfigured by the modern and foolish addition of embattlements. The hall has been restored nearly to its former condition and the old roof skilfully put back into working order. The kitchen is a substantial structure, whose history is probably unknown; and in the basement of the north range there is a solid wall clearly different from the masonry around it; the shafts of two or three pillars may also be of an early date; but besides these there are no apparent traces of St. Mildred's Church. The chapel is a notable example of the survival of Gothic design in Oxford. It should be studied in connexion with the hall of Exeter College, a design carried out about ten years earlier.

Next after the south boundary line of the old St. Mildred's parish, the halls on the south of the true St. Mildred's Lane, called (*V.* p. 83) 'the Lane to St. Mildred's Church from Schools' Street,' demand attention, those on the north having been already examined in Mr. Boase's *Register of Exeter College* (vol. xxvii. of this series, pp. xiv. sqq.). To the east of St. Mildred's churchyard an annotator to Wood's *City* (*i.* p. 122, n. 5 (8)), probably William Smith, places a lane ('venella'). This is shown also in Agas, where it has a small gateway at its north end close to a turret-like building intended for Lincoln College kitchen. This will account for Brasenose having windows looking over Lincoln Grove. Beyond the lane eastward came **Little Deep Hall**; 'Deep' because the street, which was at one time a receptacle for house-rubbish, had gradually risen in front, and steps down into the building had become necessary; and 'Little' by way of distinction from six others. Then came **Winton Hall**, whose history begins very early, *c.* 1215 (*Wi.* 626), when Master Alard, sub-dean of the Church of Wells, quitclaimed it to Thomas, son of Wydo. The next charter (*ibid.* 627) is rubricated as the grant of the same land by Agatha, wife of Thomas son of Wydo, to John Halegod,

wherein are contained the two Winton messages. The next (*ibid.* 628) (1230-1240) is a grant by John Halegod to Thomas of Winchester, clerk, of two houses lying between land of Walter Feteplace and land of Thomas de Bedeford. These names would not, by themselves, identify the property: but the name Winton Hall is that, by which it appears in the Cartulary of St. Frideswyde, to whom it was given by the same Thomas of Winchester. In 1331 (*V.* p. 13) and 1372 (*ibid.*) the Hall is described as west of Olifant Hall. In 1430 (*ibid.* p. 54) the message called Depehall in the parish of S. Mildred is described as between the church of St. Mildred on the west and a garden or toft of St. Frideswyde on the east. Winton Hall had therefore been converted into a garden and the buildings had disappeared. In 1439 (*V.* p. 58) St. Frideswyde's granted it to Lincoln, as a message called Wynton Hall, lying between the tenement once called Little Depehall belonging to St. John's Hospital and the garden of University College on the east, and containing in length from north to south (on its east side) along the garden of Hampton hall, as far as the message of John Warwyck and John Barbur, fifty-one rods and two feet, and from the north (on the same side) along University College garden to the garden of Roger Folkys, forty-six rods; and on the western side, containing from north to south as far as the Garden of Hampton Hall, thirty-four rods and three quarters and two thumbs; and in breadth (at the north part) twenty rods and two thumbs and (at the southern part) which is angular, at the beginning of it eight rods and two and a half feet, and at the end of it, near John Warwyke's message, four rods and one foot. There are other documents confirming the position east and west.

Passing eastward, **Olifant Hall**, sometimes **Unicorn Hall**, is found. A deed (*V.* p. 13), the date of which is not wholly legible, gives the boundaries east and west: Nicholas de Shordich conveys to Roger de Lodelow, A^o Ed. . . . 5 et Franciae 12¹, two tenements (Olifaunt and Culverd) Olifaunt hall being then situated between Sheldhall on the east and a tenement of St. Frideswyde's on the west—perhaps Winchester Hall. The halls were given by Roger de Lodelow to University College in 1353. In 1372 (*ibid.*) University College leased to John Ware, draper of Oxford, an empty place

¹ Edward III assumed the title of King of France, 25 Jan. 1339-40, and the document must therefore be dated of England the 25th and of France the 12th, i. e. Jan. 1350-1 to Jan. 1351-2.

lately called Le Olyphant Hall between Wynchestrehall on the west and a tenement of the same college, called Shieldhall, on the east. The measurements given in the false charter of Champyrnay may perhaps have been accurately estimated; it has a garden (Tw. 23, p. 365) eight perches in length and two and a half perches in breadth, and for all services &c. it pays per annum a red rose at the feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, when asked for. It was bought of University College in 1463, and is the eastern boundary of Lincoln. Then came **Shield Hall**, one of at least eight of that name, also belonging to University College. It is first mentioned in the charter of Nicholas de Shordich, quoted above, and in the Champyrnay false charter the dimensions are given thus: 'The second messuage is called by the common name of Shield Hall and has a garden of seven perches in length by two in width and pays per annum for all dues &c. 6s. at the two terms of the year.' Then came **St. Thomas' Hall**, or Staple Hall, 'the most East of the three HALLS the COLLEGE had together' (Smith, *Univ. Coll.* 90). The King's Hall of Brasenose (V. p. 22) held it in 1461 as a garden, for in the grant by John Marton, master, and the Scholars of Durham Hall to Mr. John Tristhorp, Rector of Lyncoln, of Hampton Hall, Sekyll Hall and Olifaunte Hall, the eastern boundary of the last is given as the garden of University College, commonly called Sheild hall, in the occupation of the scholars of Brasenose Hall.

Ivy Hall stood next, once the property of our Lady of Stodele. There is a notice of this Hall in 1402 (Tw. 23, p. 410), from a rental of Studley; 'expenses about an agreement for Ivehall 14d.' In 1435 the Principal of Brasenose Hall rented it (*ibid.* 409). In a list of Halls licensed by the Chancellor's court in 1438 (Wood, D. 3, p. 66) it stands as 'Ivy next to Brasenose Hall'; and that it was to the west is clear from an account of rents of Stodley Priory (Tw. 23, p. 246), where the order is Sheldehall, Peryhall, Ivyhall, Brasennosehall. Wm. Smith (*City*, i. p. 122, n. 5), who in his seventy-seventh year took great pains in ascertaining the history of University College, also places it here. At the corner came **University Hall**, distinguished as '**Little.**' The authority last quoted says it is never called Jussell house or Russell, and he seems to have taken the trouble to annotate this in Wood's MS. (V. p. 32), where he states that 'the writer (1375) of a charter at University College among those pertaining to St. Frideswyde was under an error,' and going on to say that 'the domus angularis afterwards "The Small Hall of the University" was distinct from

Jussell's tenement which was called Brasenose Hall and lay on the south of the angle tenement,' and that 'Jussell's tenement was passed to Flemyng who passed it to his son R. whence it passed to Simon Bolindon Canon of Lichfield who sold it to the University for the use of Durham's scholars.' A rental of St. Frideswyde, 1375 (V. p. 491), rates Jussell House as separate from this hall. Apart, however, from these minute details, Little University Hall deserves notice, not for any supposed foundation by Alfred the Great, but because the purchase of it by the University out of the moneys of William of Durham marks the earliest beginning of the collegiate system. The account given by Smith (*Univ. Coll.*, 7-9) is as follows: William of Durham bequeathed to the University three hundred and ten marks, and with this legacy the University bought in the year 1253, of the Prior and Hospital of Brackley for thirty-six marks *ingersumam*, the angular or corner house standing in School Street, since part of the front of Brasenose College. In 1508, John Rokesby, master (V. p. 292), and the fellows of University College granted to Richard Sutton Esquire and eight others, clerks, Brasenose Hall and Little University Hall &c. for the term of ninety-two years, paying yearly a rent of £3 renewable at the expiration of the term for a like term.

After Jussell's Tenement, **Brasenose Hall** came next towards the south. The name was given to it because it had on its door a knocker, with a human or animal head like those which are called sanctuary knockers. The knocker now in the Dining Hall of Brasenose College is believed to have belonged to the Hall whose place and title the modern college has assumed. The nose of the head, that of a lion or leopard, is so marked a feature that it may well have given its name to the entire knocker. When in early times the City and the University were at strife, the students sometimes resorted to migration, and it is believed that on one of these occasions the knocker was carried away with them as a species of tutelary badge to Stamford. In 1890, the College reacquired it, and have given it a place of honour in their Dining Hall.

The southern boundary of the hall was, in 1510 (V. p. 293), the Oriel tenement called '**Salesury and S. Marie's entry.**' The history of these tenements given by Smith (*Univ. Coll.*, p. 10) is as follows: about the year 1262, the University purchased with William of Durham's legacy from Simon of Balinden, a canon of Lichfield, a property on the south side of their first corner house in School Street. Whatever

name it had then, it was certainly called Brasenose Hall in 1279. The forged document of Champyrnay of whatever date (Tw. 23, p. 365) supplies us with some measurements: one tenement is called Brasnos and has a court or small garden containing in length¹ three perches, in breadth fourteen feet and as much in length: next follows another, called 'Russell at the corner,' and has a garden five perches and two feet in length and three perches four feet in breadth. In 1508, Oct. 20 (Tw. 23, p. 126), John Rokesburgh, Master, and the Fellows of University College demised to Richard Sutton Brasenose Hall and Little University Hall with gardens &c. abutting on the east upon part of Schools Street, on the south upon an hall and garden called Salysbury, on the north upon a street or lane extending from School Street towards Lincoln College and on the west on Lincoln College.

Little St. Mary's entry and Salesurry Hall follow next. In 1333 (O. p. 59), among Juliana Feteplace's demises to Richard Tekne of Northampton, Salisbury Hall is described as a messuage and two shops in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin situated near Le Brasenose on the south and called le sale de Syrrae; this, though a strange form, is doubtless nothing more than a corruption of the usual name. The house and two shops facing the churchyard, for that of St. Mary's reached thus far to the west, give quite an air of rusticity to the spot. In 1392 Oriel College acquired the property of the gild of St. Thomas, in St. Mary's Church; and this included a messuage called Salisyrry between Le Brasynnose on the north and the Entry of Juliana Glasier on the south. In the same year (O. p. 30) Oriel leased the same for a hundred years to John Maddesdon and Robert Abyngdon at Smythgate, skynner, on condition that they should find a fit chaplain to celebrate morning mass for the souls of the King and of divers benefactors to the church, and also provide the holy vessels, garments, books and other necessaries. St. Mary's Entry and Salisbury Hall have a common east boundary, and have generally passed by the same instruments of conveyance, as in 1508, Oct. 20 (Tw. 23, p. 126), when Oriel College demised to Sir Richard Sutton and others Salesury and S. Maryentre with gardens and buildings as they lie between Brasenose Hall on the north, Little St. Edmund's Hall on the south, School street on the east and land of All Souls College now in the tenancy of William Chamber on the West. The All Souls land is shown in the map reproduced by Skelton (*pl.* 55*)², and proves that the depth of

¹ *Sic.* Perhaps miscopied by Twyne.

² *Pl.* 141, in the Edition of 1843.

these properties, east to west, was about a hundred feet. Twyne (23, p. 127), without mentioning dates, but probably referring to the time of the building of Brasenose College, says: 'St. Mary entre was demolished and layed into Brasenose Coll. quadrangle—one would guess . . . that Salisbry hall lay between that and the College, and I take it to have been part of a lane and shutt up, which ran in a straight line with that behind St. Mary's Church yard, and had an exit south of Lincoln College in which stood three halls now made part of the site of Lincoln Coll. and held by quitt rent of Univ. Coll.' It should be noted that Wood (*City*, i. 83, note 4) suspected that the churchyard of St. Mary's had once extended to the westward; he adds: 'a token of which was the digging up of bones at the west end of Brasnose College Chapel, 15 or 16 feet deepe, because the ground hath bin soe much raised.' This has been confirmed by excavations made in 1895, in digging the trenches for the footings of the new house, distant five feet south from Brasenose chapel. There were then found a bronze coin of Antoninus, some ancient skeletons of prehistoric type, and some bits of Roman pottery. The workman proved very satisfactorily that a skeleton near the south-east buttress was put in upright. This seems to have been one reburied in Wood's time. The extreme state of decay of many of the skeletons points most plainly to a period when Schools Street was a lane across the churchyard; and some of the Christian graves were actually under the pavement. Old as these interments were, they were in made ground. At the angle toward St. Mary's there remained the untouched gravel of the Oxford district, over it twenty inches of the usual red, loamy soil, and above that five feet eight inches of added soil. The six skeletons found near that angle were found at ten feet ten inches below the present pavement. A very early wall ran east and west thirteen feet nine inches to the north of the seventeenth-century house still left standing, and a remarkable catch-pit with filtering apparatus was also found, drawings of which have been preserved¹.

Little St. Edmund Hall, or the House of Lucy de Worth, came next to the south. The first mention of it as yet found is in an Osney rental of 1261 (V. p. 459, i.), on which Wood says: 'The house of Lucy de Worth had a Principal, it is said there to be in the Cimiterio B. Mar. Virg.' It seems to have been on the spot excavated in 1895. The names of several Principals are given in

¹ *Vide* plan; MS. H. H. p. 1611.

Wood's *City* (i. 592), several others occur in the Osney rentals. In 1491 (V. p. 293) its south boundary is given: 'The Abbot and Convent of Ousney let to farme to John Mertock A.M. and Bac. of Physic¹, at the feast of S. Michael 1491, little Edmund Hall between the garden of John Caswell (belonging to Godstow) & St. Mary's entry on the north.' The Oriel charter of 1510 (*ibid.*) describes their tenement called Salesury and S. Marie's Entry as situated between Brasenose on the north and Little Edmund Hall on the south. In speaking of Haberdasher Hall hereafter, another document will be quoted, quite enough to prove the position of Lucie Worth's tenement 'to the hilt,' or as W. Smith phrases it, 'to pin the basket.' Winsore, with his usual disregard for proof (*Bal.* 83), assures us that 'Edmund Hall near Brasenose Coll. was built by St. Edmund.' The college which occupies the sites of all these halls can claim a fair place among the architectural beauties of Oxford: the gateway is unequalled and characteristic, sufficient to guide any real architect in remodelling or rebuilding the ugly design of Wren over the 'fair' gate of Christ Church; it is free from the heaviness of earlier specimens, yet severe enough for a college. The former Principal's Lodging over the main entrance has undergone many changes, but is still highly characteristic; the ceiling, apparently original, is designed in an earlier style. Just south of the entrance tower is an old doorway with a wicket probably from an early hall. The roof of the chapel, said to have been removed from St. Mary's College, now Frewin Hall, is a pleasing variety of gothic, the whole structure a strange but clever mixture of renaissance and medieval design. This completes the Brasenose College of old times, for it was not till 1887 that the college extended its bounds southward and built a second gateway, this time into High Street, masking also its new front to that street with a gothic façade.

Our author must have seen the eastern side of **Schools Street** filled with houses, but apparently not encroaching so much on the churchyard of St. Mary's as had formerly been the case. This side of the street it will be as well to take from south to north, so that **Pilet School** in Schole Lane, or Glasyn Hall, is first to be considered. It is not till 1624 that we find Twyne (23, p. 127) writing, 'Glasyn hall alias Pyllets is the littell old buildinge nowe Brasenose College Stable,' and the position of this stable is shown us in the

¹ The donor of the Lectern at Merton, d. 1503.

1736 map. Pylet is a rather common family name, and Glassen no doubt refers to the extra display of windows in the building. It and some Pylett schools apparently near to it, figure from 1258-1462 (V. pp. 418-476) in the Osney rentals, sometimes as upper schools, sometimes as lower, and sometimes as both. Wood (V. p. 464) under the year 1377 remarks that it is the first time he finds Glasen Hall so called. These lists of Schools generally follow one order with a little more consistency than is found in the lists of Halls in the Chancellor's books. In 1392 (V. p. 471) the Tenement and the School are classed as one. **Deep Hall**, or Balehorne's Tenement, is described by Wood (*City*, i. 134) as situated between land of Eynsham Abbey on the north, and land sometime of John Pilet on the south. The **Deep School**, otherwise Helle School, of 1276 (V. p. 425), must be distinct from this, standing farther north, between Alienore Schools and the Cellar at the corner near Torald's. The position is roughly given as far back as about 1225*f.* (V. p. 489), but the bounds given belong to owners not elsewhere mentioned as far as is at present known. It was Osney property, and is found in its proper place in the rental of 1316 (V. p. 460); Deep Hall is absent; but there come Schools over Balehorne's stalls (or selds), to which Wood appends 'Deephall,' and on examination these seem also farther north. In the Oriel documents about the year 1226 (Shadwell, *Catal. Munim. Oriel*, ii. 6) is a charter giving four boundaries: Robert de Fletham, Rector of the Church of St. Mary's demises to Richard Mason or Plasterer (Cementarius) of Abendon, all that tenement in the Street of Schools in the parish of St. Mary which was of the gift of Dionis the daughter of Symon Gildynsmith for a light within his church situate between a tenement of the Abbot of Osney on the one side and a tenement of Walter Feteplace on the other and reaching back from the King's Highway which is called Schools Street to a tenement of Anketil for the term of his life, he paying no rent during his superintendence of the work in progress on St. Mary's Church, and after the completion of such work paying a rent of twelve shillings silver. Among the witnesses are William the apothecary, William the binder of books, another of the same trade, and three others; William the ligator we shall come across again, and when his occupation assumes the Norman form *Lyour* it is strange to meet with the word among witnesses. In the list of Halls in the Chancellor's accounts of 1449 (D. 3, p. 84) come the following, in order: Glass Hall, Deep Hall joined to Glass Hall,

Brasenose, another reason for supposing it to be distant from St. Mary's about one-third of the entire length of the street.

Stapull Hall, the next north, occurs frequently in the Osney rentals, and seems from the order in 1317 (V. p. 419) to be Belew's House. At this time there were on that side of the street mainly on the site of Bodley's Schools sixteen Halls belonging to the Abbey, one belonging to the University, and two to other owners. The order is so regular that we can be sure that they stood (1) Glassyn, (2) omitted as not Osney's, (3) Steeple, and (4) Black. In 1527 (V. p. 292) a few further particulars are given: John Cottisford, Rector of Lincoln, let to farm to Richard Lister Esquire Attorney General Staple Haulle with a garden and scite of the same situate in Schoolstreet between Black Hall on the north and a tenement opposite Brasnose Coll: called Glasynhall on the south containing in length towards Scoolstreet fifty-eight feet; towards Glasynhall eighty feet, towards a tenement of St. Frideswyde in Cat street, on the east, eighty-six feet; and towards Blackhall eighty-eight feet: and Lyncoln College let it to Brasenose in 1556 for 20s. a year. But in the bounds of Blackhall in 1530, Staple Hall is stated to have disappeared, so that a new house had been erected. Twyne (23, p. 127) has drawn a plan to show the position of the several Halls, Black, Staple, and Glasen, in 1527. **Blackhall** is drawn in the 1736 map (Skelton 55*) as extending from the middle of the west side of the Radcliffe Camera northwards to the middle of the entrance to Brasenose Lane. Its west face corresponded with the edge of the street on that side, being about twenty-four feet from the front of the College, and ran directly for the boundary cross in the south wall of the Bodleian Library, while its width was from the edge of the old road as far as the side of the Camera; its grounds, however, reached well beyond the present north approach to the same building. It is conspicuous in Agas, but placed rather too far south to correspond with the map above noted.

Pasc Hall, to all appearance part of the University Schools, commenced north of the last, after a small interval which extended slightly beyond the present posts beneath Heber's tree, and its west front followed the same line toward the boundary cross there. There is a notice of this Hall of about the year 1303 (Tw. 23, p. 103): Alicia of Abendon Prioress of Litelmore demised to John de Warham, parchmentmaker of Oxford, a cellar with solar and curtilage belonging to a hall called Paschalle, except a small area of ten feet part of the

said curtilage in which the servants of the prioress and convent can place their ladders and tools for mending the hall, &c. On the back is this memorandum: The place formerly built and called Paschalhalle is now a garden which John le Barbur, of the parish of St. Mary holds for 30*d.* Wood (*City*, i. 90) supplies some other particulars.

In passing along Somnore's Lane, **Exeter Schools**, north of the present Divinity School, were omitted, and the series of five Osney schools which faced them and the west end of the Divinity School now remain for consideration. These adjoined the University Schools, and were called Burchester Schools and Cruste School, Alienore School and Helle School(?), following in this order northwards. With Mr. Clark's note upon these (*City*, i. 89), and Gutch's edition of Wood's *History of the University* (vol. ii. pt. 2, pp. 730-755), should be considered Bereblock's view of the five schools rebuilt by Queen Mary probably on the same foundations, after their desolation in her brother's time. Two early structures in addition to the Littlemore Schools before mentioned lay to the east of these schools, **Stockwell Hall** the northern and **St. Mary's Entry** the southern of the two, but the positions are not very clearly defined. The south-east angle of the Bodley Schools, called the Logic School, was occupied by some houses of Magdalen, and the transfer of the freehold to the University took place but a short time ago. Our Lady's House, probably that of the priest of the Octagonal Chapel, a Cat Hall, and perhaps an Arthur Hall, probably faced these last on the Hertford site. **Arthur Hall**, if the order of the Exeter Computus Roll in 1329 (V. p. 318) is to be taken as our guide, would come between Hart Hall and Sheld Hall, and consequently be an alias for a Micheld Hall, as in Boase (Ex. 285(6)), which describes Hart Hall as between the tenement of the University called le Blackhalle on the west and the tenement of the prioress of Stodleye called le Micheldhalle on the east. Unless we regard Micheld as a corrupted form of Sheld, Arthur Hall must be farther south, perhaps even as far as the edge of the closed lane between Hertford and All Souls. With regard to **Cat Hall**, Smith, or some annotator upon Twyne (23, p. 371), seems to have known its position: in the Hustings Court, Monday after Lady Day, 1410, the supervisors of nuisances presented that between the tenement of Mr. William Faryndon [in the margin Twyne notes that he was lessee of a tenement called Cat Hall which adjoins Arthur Hall on the north which adjoins Hart Hall on the

north (*vide* pyx F. N. 40 in the Schools Tower)] situated in the parish of St. Mary Oxon and the tenement of Stapledon College, there stands an earthen wall containing in length eighteen rods north and south. Other notes place it between a tenement of the University (Black Hall) on the north and a tenement of St. Frideswide (Godeknave Hall) on the south. It is described as a garden in a Chancellor's list of 1451 (D. 3, p. 91). Continuing south we find **Herborew Hall**, belonging to St. John's Hospital. It is given as the north boundary of Godeknave Hall *c.* 1215 (*Wi.* 410), and this agrees with the Hospital Charter 1249 *m.* (V. p. 217), whereby Henry son of Simeon of Oxford grants to Andrew Halegod that messuage which is called Herburwe Hall in the parish of S. Mary the Virgin in Catestrete viz. between the land sometime of William the parson of Boclond and the messuage which was once Roger Godegnave's. **Godegnave** (Good knave or squire) **Hall**, **Stanlake Hall** or Lysewyes' tenement comes next, the property of St. Frideswyde; in 1309 (V. p. 138, xxv.) William called Oerl of Gloucester and Rosa Balle his wife, one of the coheirs of Thomas Balle of Oxford, and the other coheirs, her sisters, granted to Thomas de Stanlake a messuage in Catstreet situated between the land of St. Frideswyde on the north and a tenement once of Simon the bookbinder on the south. This agrees with the charter above of 1249 *m.* In a document of 1314 (*ibid.* xxx.) is mentioned a Thomas de Stanlake called of Grandpont in Oxford, leading Wood to the conclusion that Grandpont Hall is the same as Stanlake Hall. The question of Lysewyse being a third name is rather too tedious to enter into.

Tinchwick Yn comes next, an inn, which in 1442 (V. p. 140, xlix.) is given as a south boundary of a tenement of St. Frideswyde, and if this is Godknave Hall it is not clear why Grandpont Hall is omitted. Under another description, viz. Bereford's tenement, it appears to be north of St. Thomas' Hall. In 1442 (*ibid.* 140, li.) the Abbot and convent of Oseney convey to Richard Andrews, Warden of All Souls, their tenement lately called St. Thomas Hall, lately between the tenement of John Bereford on the north and the hall lately called Bereford Hall on the south, upon which the chapel of the said college has been built: rent 3*s.* 8*d.* Godgnave and Grandpont Halls with Tinchwick Inn now form the second or north quadrangle of All Souls, in which once stood some cloisters, at a distance of about twenty feet from the chapel, as Agas's map indicates, and this position is confirmed by Logan's very similar but more refined

sketch. In 1491 (V. p. 148) Wood notes an epistle written by the college to Thomas Overy precentor of Wells that he would be pleased to bestow some moneys toward the finishing of their cloister, and (*ibid.*) in the same year another epistle to James Goldwell bishop of Norwich wherein also his help is implored, telling him also that three parts of their cloister was finished and when all was done they intended it for processions for private prayers and for burials. Here again other documents demand the insertion of a hall or tenement of St. Frideswyde, for Godgnave is too far north to suit other statements. St. Thomas' Hall has been mentioned fully enough under Tinchwick Inn just above. Next is the corner house which it is better to take here than when the High Street is being considered. This was Charlton's Inn or **Berford Hall**, and its history is well known. John de la Wyke, our Berkshire acquaintance, granted it to John of Northampton and two others before 1366 (V. p. 137, i.); John of Northampton to three clerks and Robert Brom in 1366 (*ibid.*); Robert Skeron to two John Brooms, as Bereford Hall lately called Cherlton's Inn (*ibid.* ii.), in 1430; and the two John Brooms to Archbishop Chicheley and two others in 1437 (*ibid.* iv.). John de Bereford, the mayor, who owned the Swyndlestock, by his will, 1361, gave for the support of his chaplain in All Saints 30s. rents, from Batheshyn in St. Martin, and 23s. 4d. 'from a certain messuage with shops joined to it situated in the parish of All Saints which I now inhabit,' with other benefactions for the same purpose, so that the Bereford Hall by St. Mary's was not his residence at that time. The buildings of All Souls must not be left without paying a tribute to the beautiful architecture of the first quadrangle and its glorious chapel with its most exquisite reredos, finest of all the restorations made in the Victorian age. Too much can scarcely be said about the beautiful ancient glass in the ante-chapel, especially as a west window there, the one farthest to the north, contains some delicately-worked portraits of the founder and other celebrities. They were removed from the old Library (on the east side of the first quadrangle), and consequently being intended for close inspection, were executed with great refinement. The old Library as now restored is a beautiful example of an Elizabethan room.

We will now consider some places omitted lying in the lane north of St. Mary's Church called School Lane or Little Lane, which still exists but in a widened form, and we again begin at the west end where stood Pylet Hall. **Godstowe Hall** is next to that on the east,

as is shown in the Godstowe cartulary. Wood refers to Twyne's extract from the Latin Godstowe Register, f. 113, in which it is more fully described as facing the little shop (*stanulla*¹) of the cemetery of Blessed³ Mary at the north, and he adds a note of Twyne's: It was a bookbinder's house as appears in the same place. The passage does not appear to be in the English version of the cartulary, but the following refers to the same property: 'Royse Abbessse of Godestowe . . . to John Stanys, bynder of books of Oxenford, leased to ferme and remytted one mese in St. Mary parish in the next strete to the Church of our Lady in the northe parte, Isette betwene the Abbot of Oseney's house the which was Icalled somtyme the halle of Pylate and the howse of William Bretham of the other, to them and their successours paying 8s. of yerely rent' (at the four terms of the year—repairing and re-entering clauses follow—no date).

Further on came a tenement of Osney and then **Corner Schools** or the Great Schools, the property of Oriel College. This was bought by Richard de Overton in 1333 of John son of John of West Stretford, and Lord of the same, and is then described as a tenement in St. Mary's parish called Great Schools, facing the church of Saint Mary on the north at the corner of Cat-street, situated between a tenement of the Abbot and convent of Osney on the west and a tenement which Thomas de Hamme² holds of John, son of William of West Stretford, the father of the vendor, on the east. By divers mesne conveyances, in one of which it is described as north of the church, at the corner which leads to Cat-street, in which the Decretals were wont to be read, the property passed from Overton's hands to those of other members of Oriel, until in 1362 it was finally acquired by Oriel: Overton's purchase was doubtless made out of moneys bequeathed by Adam de Brome, for the benefit of the College.

In the assignment in 1442 of the Oxford property of Oriel to the City (Ogle's *Royal Letters*, p. 99) it is described as a messuage in Cat Street at the corner, facing the Church of Saint Mary between a messuage of William Ffowler of Buckingham on the north and a small lane leading to the cemetery of the Church of Saint Mary on the south: about which it may be asked whether the ground north of the Old Convocation House was not part of the churchyard at that time. Thomas de Hamme's tenement on the east, i. e. beyond

¹ Diminutive of *stallum*, stall or shop. *Du Cange*.

² Probably a bookseller and stationer: see Madan's *Early Oxford Press*, p. 269.

the corner and in Cat Street, was only a small stall not worth consideration.

Then probably, to the north, came the 'armer house' of the parish, for which the churchwardens in 1538 (D. 3, p. 273) found a lock and key, and which was therefore, most likely, parish property. To this, among many indistinct references, we have one which shows that it may have been a Littlemore possession, 1481 (D. 3, p. 258): 'For 1*d.* rent, annual, from the tenement of the Prioress and Convent of Litlemore in the same street (Catestrete) between Magdalen tenement on the north and a tenement of John Clerke on the south.' North of this would be the tenement of Magdalen, touching the south-east part of the Camera, as the 1736 plan shows us.

After a small space, and taking in nearly one quarter of the Camera, came the **Exeter Schools**, and therefore facing the modern doorway to All Souls' library. In the St. Mary's accounts (D. 3, p. 273) of the year 1538 stands the item 'for an annuall rent from Exeter College for a house in Cat Street between a garden belonging to S. Frideswyde on the north and a tenement of the abbess of Godstow on the south 11*d.*' Further north as far as the Bodley Schools, on the east side of the street, was the St. Mary's orchard. It occurs in 1582 (D. 3, p. 281): A Charter whereby Edmund Bennett Mayor and the two bailiffs did dimise to severall parishioners of St. Marie's for 300 years a certain garden ground backside or orchard in Cat Street (here Wood puts in 'in the middle') in St. Marie's parish between a common garden of All Souls on the South and a garden of Hart Hall on the north, a woodyard belonging to New College on the east and on the west side a stable. The measurements are supplied by Gutch (*Coll. and Halls*, p. 283 *n.*), from the Act of Parliament which authorized the sale to All Souls, forty-four yards east to west, seventeen yards and three quarters wide at west end, and eleven yards and a half at the east; it would, therefore, have included the garden of St. Thomas' Chantry and Herborew Hall.

The 'Entrance from St. Marie's into the common Schooles' of which Hutten speaks was not very convenient. On emerging from under St. Mary's tower a turn had to be made towards Brasenose College Chapel: then the way was along Schools Street quite to the north-west angle of Radcliffe Square and there two more sharp turns, right and left, completed the journey. The group of buildings from St. Mary's direct to Broad Street was designed for one central

way (the Palladians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were miserable without their 'vista'), and it is only the closing up of the basement of the Radcliffe which has put a check upon that design.

The building of the western end of Bodley's Library, next to Exeter College, was begun in 1634 and finished in 1640. It has a groined roof (under the Selden Library) which should be noticed as a very late example of fan-tracery. Bodley did not see even the eastern end completed, as he died in the early part of the year 1613, and the Proscholium was not completed till later. The very complete account by Mr. Clark in *Wood's Life*, especially in vol. ii. pp. 63-65, should be perused in connexion with this. Beautiful as the ceiling of the **Divinity School** is even now, it is difficult to imagine what a wonderful room it must have been when the broad windows were resplendent with heraldic devices and when, the greatest gem of all, the grand throne of Divinity still existed. Happily for us there is no need to lament over the sale of the very benches and bookcases of Duke Humphrey's Library nor over its half-ruined walls covered with weeds and hellebore; we live in better days and Bodley is flourishing.

xv. High Street, First Section; Carfax to All Saints' Church.

P. 140. 'But wee returne from hence unto the Conduit att Carefax, and there take view Eastward of the High Streete, which is the fairest and longest Streete of the Citty. For it beginneth from the Conduit, and is continued, on both sides, with Cittizens Houses all the length.'

The third course towards the east of the City commences at the Conduit and extends to East Gate and no further. The street was much narrower at the west end in Hutten's days, for the houses on the north side of this part of High Street were some years ago set back several feet. It was at a time when architectural taste was at a low ebb, and the houses then erected have not added to the beauty or dignity of the street.

Halfway towards All Saints Church on the north side, near the site ascribed to a two-faced pump of some celebrity, must have stood **Croxford's Hall** or Inn, once Romaine Hall. From many documents (V. p. 54) it appears that in 1229 four shops existed on its west side,

seemingly demanding a lane or street with a west border. Between the Mitre and the western boundary of All Saints parish there is now no such lane, but Coleburne Lane was at that time continued southward into the High Street, nearly along the west side of the Market, as old drawings prove. From the evidence of a document of 1384 (V. p. 59), Croxford Hall probably adjoined Harding Hall, which evidently lay back from the Corn Market; and therefore Coleburne Lane, south end and west side, is the most likely locality. It became Lincoln property, and that College once owned most of the Market. It was a corner house, as in an undated charter of Roger, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (V. p. 55), to which Wood appends the remark: 'This is a mistake most certainly except there were two Croxford's Innes for one lay almost as high as the two-faced pump.' But Wood (*City*, i. 82) wished to place it between Broadgate's Hall and Haberdasher's (probably but one building with two names), which are in St. Mary's parish, and our Hall is not.

Elden Hall probably stood close to the eastern edge of the Market, where is now a railway office. It was not Lincoln property, or it would, most probably, have been sold with the rest of the Market site. It belonged to University College, and it is referred to as such (without its title) in a charter about **The Mitre** (*City*, i. 79).

This is the next inn, and seems from its cellars to have been originally two houses (Gill's and Dagville's), as is also shown by documents. In 1306 (V. pp. 55, 56), Philip of Wormenhale transfers to Robert of Watlington for the term of his life the messuage situated in All Saints parish between the tenement of the same Philip on the east and the tenement of John the son of Walter le Orfever on the west except a certain place at its north end: rent 33s. 4d. Wood adds, 'It is the Miter without doubt.' In 1488 *m.* (V. p. 65 b), Edmund Gille gives to Richard Northcote and others all that tenement in All Saints parish between the tenement called Dagvills ynn on the west and the tenement of University College on the east. Unless east and west have become transposed in this Charter (yet there are two versions both alike), the whole of the area will be in confusion; and it is well known that Dagvill's was at the corner. The Mitre gateway, as far as can be judged at present, was at first Gille's, and the part at the corner next the Turl was Dagville's. The will of Joane Gille in 1486 (Tw. 23, p. 541) seems to imply this, as it leaves, under certain conditions, 'to the town and Chamberlaines of Oxford the two tenements on the west side of Dagfeildes-ynne in

the parish of All-hallows for evermore.' Later on the tenement of University College is called that 'on the west side.'

There is a series of cellars belonging to this place, of extraordinary interest. At the corner of the Turl is a mixture of seventeenth-century and fourteenth-century vaulting. Under the next house to the north, in the Turl, appear pointed arches close to the pavement, as in the Carfax cellar, of which the east wall here is almost a duplicate. Then comes a square compartment with early Decorated vaulting-ribs and short engaged shafts, also an old window looking west. This part is left uninjured, and causes the raised ground floor in the wine-merchant's office. Lastly, under the next house north, a very narrow one, comes simple semicircular or barrel vaulting, in rough, grouted masonry and very thick walls. This seems to be six or seven hundred years old at the least. There is of medieval work above ground but very little to show at the Mitre, merely some chimneys and roofing over the central parts at the back.

So much about the north side of this street, as regards the first section of it. The south has now to be looked to. At the angle where St. Aldate's meets the High Street, stands the corner **tenement of Oriel**, thus described in 1356 (O. p. 32): when John Tekene granted to John Wynewyk vicar of Rothewell, to Richard Tekene and another one half of certain shops and cellars in the parish of St. Martin at a certain corner of the four-ways between the tenement called Cnaphall and the land of the prioress of Stodley. Another charter by Henry de Stodley of Oxon, anno 1410 (O. p. 55), has been already quoted under Knap Hall; he was the owner of the second house there, which may be Boken Hall (*City*, i. 150, n. 4).

The **Postboys Inn** and its neighbour, Nos. 139 and 140, were celebrated inns in the eighteenth century—fine timbered houses with barge-boards of good design, as we learn from old drawings, and are probably the two dark, old structures 'over against the two-faced pump.' Swanbourne Inn was the name of the house now No. 136.

Kent's Hall, now probably the **Chequers**, No. 131, must have been, judging from the remains of a fine mantelpiece, the abode of a person of wealth. It is in a part of the High Street often called All Saints' Street, but sometimes, more loosely, St. Marie's Street, as in the following 'indenture between Robert the Abbot and the convent of Osney and Richard Kent, Alderman, and Joane his wife concerning four shoppes in All Saints' parish (Chequer Inne) . . . These shops

were afterwards in the tenure of Edward Freere, about the Checquer inne, and there is mention of the tenement of the Chamberlaines of Oxon, which I suppose is that where the Goldsmith lives, sometimes an old lane.' Traces of this lane still appear. In Rawlinson, MS. D. 1268, this is further explained (p. 20): 'A lane with a dore below the Checquer where Wilkins the goldsmith now lives, went downe to St. Edward Lane, now Boar Lane, and to St. Edward schoole.' A little house here, with three small gables toward the street, No. 130, has, a few feet to the rear, the last visible remaining example of timber framing with curved angle-pieces. The passage east of that shop leads to a remarkable house or hall, once the Police station; and at its south end there existed till 1896 a pretty example of a house with exterior pargeting, once bearing the date 1611.

The house east of the Wheatsheaf passage, destroyed in 1896, had clearly been a fine house of about 1480, as indicated by several pieces of stone cornice-work. The red loam of Oxford was there seen at eight feet four inches depth. The next house, the prettiest in the entire High Street, proves to be of two periods in the front, *c.* 1620 and 1740, but its west frame might probably be as old as 1350. From near this house, quite up to Carfax, the encroachments on the former road, made at two distinct periods, can still be clearly traced.

We now come to the corner of Alfred Street or Bear Lane. It had its name from a house which has borne the names of Parne or Pirne Hall, the Tabard, and the **Bear Inn**. The name has been transferred to the lane which runs from its southern end to Oriel. As the lane led down to the east end of St. Edward's Church, the earliest name of it was St. Edward's Lane. St. Frideswyde's owned the corner house, and so in 1277 (*Wz.* 396): Robert Prior of St. Frideswyde's grants to Thomas called le Pape and to Juliana de Chilrethe his wife and to their only son for their lives the corner messuage called Pirnehalle, with one stall, where formerly was the entry into that messuage in All Saints parish situated between the land of Oliver the Seinter on the west and a street called Seint Edwardes lane on the east: rent two marks: thirty marks paid down. The following, of the year 1331, in the Great Book of Wills (*Tw.* 23, p. 512), is strongly in favour of the hall being also the same as Pirie's: William Pirye gives and bequeaths a hall with appurtenances in which Henry de Campeden was wont to dwell in the High Street near St. Mary's Church with three chambers and a cellar with a stable and brew-

house to his Executors, Robert de la Mere and Matilda de Milton, his maid, subject to a certain life interest, with directions to sell the hall and distribute the money for his soul and those of his benefactors. It will be noticed that it is near St. Mary's Church, and not near All Saints. In 1431 (Tw. 23, p. 379), John Bereford and Johanna his wife quitclaim to Richard the Prior of St. Frideswyde for a messuage shop cellar and solar in the parish of All Saints, between a tenement of St. Frideswyde on the west and the lane which leads to the church of St. Edward Oxon on the east, which messuage is called of old Le Tabard; to which Smith adds, 'where is now the sign of the Bear.' The name Tabard also occurs thus, in 1457 (D. 3, p. 103): 'the Sign of the Bear in the parish of All Saints, it seems was called the Tabard as elsewhere and, before, Parne Hall.' Its last name, The Bear, is connected with a disturbance about the stealing of deer from Shotover in 1586 (*Boase*, Oxford, 131).

**xvi. High Street, Second Section; All Saints' Church
to Cat Street.**

P. 141. 'From this Church of Allhallowes, the Streete runneth on both sides, without interruption, till you come to St. Marie's Church on the left hand, and the Lane leading to St. Mary Hall and divers Colledges on the right. Att the West end of St. Marie's Church wee see the East side of Brasen Nose Colledge, and the Entrance of the Schooles, of which wee spake before. Opposite to Brasen Nose there are two old Halls, Black Hall and White Hall, now in their tenure, and serving for their use. Att the East end of St. Marie's is Catt Streete, leading to the Schooles, and opposite thereto a Lane leading downe to Martin Coll.'

This section of High Street begins with **All Saints Church**, to which a short time must be devoted. The old church with its Gothic spire, showing so grandly in Agas and in Loggan, fell from the same cause as the old St. Peter-le-Bailey Church. The remains here are even more scanty than there, one beam and one tomb. There is even a doubt about its exact site, for nearly one third of the present building has been well overhauled, and no signs of earlier foundations have been disclosed; but walls of medieval masonry have been unearthed to the

north and within the churchyard. There is a drawing of this church, known to a few, most of whom question its accuracy; it is signed J. B. (for one of the Bucklers), 1827. It was probably executed for Mr. Wyatt, the picture dealer, in whose collection it was found at his death. In this drawing the chancel and the nave are under one roof; at the north-east stands a small chapel, probably that of St. Anne, and a south aisle extends the full length of the building. The two east windows are of reticulated tracery; the chapel is earlier, and there are two Decorated windows in the north wall of the nave. This corresponds with Loggan's sketch in his map, but in Agas there is no south aisle, but a full-length north aisle with lean-to roof; both of these can scarcely be correct. Agas's spire claims some attention. He appears to have aimed at showing a covering of shingles, which does not appear in either of the other views; he also puts something like four small gables just above the square tower. The churchwardens' accounts give no details of the fall of the spire: they were too busy looking after the shillings received for the sale of some of the old material, but they notice a yearly gratuity to the sexton of St. Michael's, whither the congregation was transferred for a time.

The churchyard, like that of St. Mary's, came several feet further into the road than at present. The part of the street adjoining the church was once called the Butchery, the market then extending as far as this; and the wooden slabs for the stalls are frequently mentioned in the City accounts. There are also references to a pig-market here. There was at the north of the church, and reaching east as far as Schools Street, a back lane. The west end of it north of the churchyard was not closed till the seventeenth century. The little passage or cul-de-sac east of the churchyard was a branch from it, as old maps show.

About halfway between this passage and St. Mary's Church still exists the entrance into an old labyrinth, now destroyed, called Amsterdam, which tradition reports to have been a lane. Nothing is known as to what stood between the churchyard and this lane. It would be a mistake to place Haberdasher Hall here. Twyne, as has already been explained under St. Mary's Entry, believed in the existence of this lane.

Returning to Turl Street, **Sekyl Hall** is the first place to be noticed. It was south of Lincoln College, and the first record of it is in 1349 (V. p. 10), when John son of Nicholas the Mercer grants to

John de Bereford and John le Sealer a messuage in the parish of All Saints, between the tenement called Hampton Hall on the north and the School of St. John's Hospital on the south. Hampton Hall, Seckyll and Olifaunte Halls were all three transferred in 1461 by University College to Lincoln College. Smith (*City*, i. 123, n. 4) calls it the first house lying in All Saints' parish; north of it was St. Mildred's parish. The school of St. John's Hospital came next, and then some houses, and a hall 'which the Rector occupies' (V. p. 223). Some of these houses are known as the 'tenements behind the churchyard of All Saints,' and one is mentioned as early as 1290 (V. p. 55) as the messuage in the cemetery of All Saints facing the chancel; another belonged to St. Anne's chantry, in All Saints (V. p. 65 a). Somewhere up the passage west of All Saints, or in the lane there, stood Borouwaldescote Inn, changed afterwards into Borewaldescote. It was in All Saints' parish, belonged to St. John's Hospital, and occurs pretty frequently in their rentals. About 1426 (V. p. 241) it took the name Broadgates Hall, and is interesting to us as having had the privileges of a sanctuary¹.

Near this, somewhere about the site of the new entrance of Brasenose College, was **Haberdasher's Hall**. As it was an Osney property it occurs frequently in their rentals, also as Spicer's, Apothecary's, and Ailnoth. The garden of Little St. Edmund Hall was to the north of it in 1530, so that the supposed lane had become stopped by that date. As it stands first in the parish rentals, which adhere very much to the same order, the succession of names can be easily traced. In 1258 (V. p. 458) it was called Thomas the Apothecary's; in 1317 (V. p. 418) Spicer's (*Speciarii*); in 1377 (V. p. 463) the tenement of Alenot. South of St. Edmund Hall itself, not its garden, was a garden of Godstow, 1491 (V. p. 293), while south of that again was Magdalen property, reaching down to the corner of Brasenose, which continued to belong to Magdalen as late as 1736.

Thus far, about the north side of this part of the High Street. It is now to be seen what noted places once existed on the south side. **Stodeley's Inn** occurs in a New College rental of 1499 (V. p. 264) thus: From John Iseham the Vintner for the tenement called

¹ Some New College leases, examined since this was written, prove that the little house between the passage into Amsterdam and the new gateway to Brasenose College occupies the site of this Hall. In *City*, i. 81, four lines from foot of page, the words 'saving one' should be deleted.

Stodeleyn yn, facing the door of the Church of All Saints 53s. 4d. a year. A Spicer's Hall may come here, but the name is so common that nothing definite can be stated; moreover, the word had the same meaning as Apothecary, a name common to several halls, whose descriptions it would be very difficult to determine. The **Ram Inn** was the present Nos. 113 and 114, where the passage still remains, about two doors west of King Edward Street. The passage is the boundary between All Saints' parish and St. Mary's. In Hoggar's map, 1850, it runs south quite into Bear Lane. Wood (V. p. 63), writing in 1660, tells us that it occurs in an account of the latter end of Henry VII. The arched doors and windows in the front of No. 113 existed till within eight years ago. Mr. Clark (*Lincoln Coll.*, 1898, p. 12) tells us that Emelina Carr, wife of John Carr, esquire bedell of Law, in 1436, directed that the property in All Saints' parish which she had inherited from her father (i. e. Ram Inn) should pass at her husband's death to Lincoln College: and that the High Street portion of this was then a house with a shop on each side of the entry. **St. Thomas Hall**, afterwards the Swan Inn, was the first house in St. Mary's parish, and sometimes known as the Borehead. It, like the lane beside it, went quite through to the lane on the south. Among the Oriel MSS. (Shadwell, *Catal. Munim. Oriel*, iv. p. 8) is one of Ysolda Spycer, dated 3 Aug., 1297, by which she gives a tenement with three selds in the parish of St. Mary between a tenement formerly John Log's on the east, and a tenement in which William le Espicer her husband lately dwelt, on the west. In 1346 (*ibid.* p. 11) Richard Atte Pole (at the pool) near Taunton, Somerset, heir of Sir John de Schordych lately deceased, conveys (*inter alia*) to Nicholas de Shordych, clerk, his younger brother, his right in St. Thomas' Hall between a tenement of John de Maideston son of William le Spicer on the east and a tenement of Philip de Ew on the west: also in two shops (together with the great gate) belonging to the said St. Thomas's Hall situated in St. Edward's parish between a tenement of Godstow called Bridehalle on the east and a tenement of Robert the Bedell called Maidenehalle on the west, thus distinguishing the property at the High Street end and at the Bear Lane end. In 1348 (*ibid.* p. 12) part of the property is styled the Great Gate. In 1349 (Tw. 23, p. 146), in an Abingdon rental, occurs: From S. Thomas's Hall which was formerly Walter le Spicer's, by the hands of the heirs of John of Eynsham at the same times, in equal portions, 2s. In John Spicer's will, made 1331 (Tw.

23, p. 513), the hall is mentioned as having three shops. It occurs frequently in the Oriel documents, sometimes as Boreshead, and is known to have been on the west side of the present King Edward Street. Lastly, in 1447 (Tw. 23, p. 205), it paid a marc of free rent to Queen's College.

The **Swan Inn** was the same as the eastern half of the above hall, and extended itself further to the east, as its cellars were cut through in the making of King Edward Street. Wood's remark (O. p. 63) on a deed of 1393, a conveyance by John Brydde to Oriel College of two messuages on this site, is: 'Swan—which is the tenement on the east side of the Swan that now (*c.* 1664) is.' It bore the name of Swan-on-the-hope; another inn at St. Martin's had the same name, and a Tabard-on-the-hope, afterwards the Bear Inn, was near—the affix merely implying that the sign was stretched on a circular frame or hoop.

Tackley's Inn or **Bulkley Hall** was two doors to the east of this (Shadwell, iv. p. 3). Its splendid cellar still exists, one of the best pieces of domestic Gothic of the middle Decorated period which we have left. It has strong groining ribs, but no engaged shafts, the ribs disappearing into the wall, reminding one very much of the vault of the old Convocation house. The same scheme of ventilation shows here as in Knap Hall. The entrance under the shop to the east is mostly untouched; near it is a quaint bit of carving, a man clinging to some mouldings and turning his head round to see who is coming down the stairs; but what seems to have been a window at the west has been much altered. At the rear of the same premises, and accessible by a passage a short distance down King Edward Street on the left, there is still remaining another old window, unique, but, if we can trust early drawings, deprived of the foliation in the tracery which was once there.

The history of this house is as follows. In 1324 Adam de Brom, the founder of Oriel College, purchased of Roger Mareschall, parson of the church of Tackley, a messuage in Oxford lately newly built by the same Roger, situate in St. Mary's, on the south of the King's highway, whereof divers shops cellars and solars, contiguous to the King's highway, were let to farm to laymen; and the Hall and inner chambers were let to students of the university, for them to dwell in after the custom of students; rent reserved for the life of the grantor £10 per annum. In 1325-6 Edward II, or rather Adam de Brom, gave it to Oriel College as in Saint Mary's parish, and

formerly belonging to Roger Mareschal, parson of the Church of Tackeley.

Physick Hall, often placed here, seems to be in Cat Street, but there is little definite known about it. **Woodcock Hall** also, although more than one site has been conjecturally assigned to it, seems to have been down Schidyard Street. In 1361 (Tw. 23, p. 305), John Went of Sibford granted to John of **Woodcokhall** of Oxford and Alice his wife his tenement in the parish of St. Mary the Virgin situated in Shydyerd between the place of Richard le Forster (Forester) on one side and a tenement of Osney on the other. This Twyne regards as referring to Woodcock Hall, and Wood (*City*, i. 144, note 1) follows him. It existed in 1469 (Tw. 23, p. 368), and is mentioned in the minutes of the Hustings Court for that year.

In this section of the High Street stands **St. Mary's**, now a Tudor building, rather imposing, but with very little of the Gothic spirit surviving in the design. There are small remnants in the City Museum showing that a Norman and an Early Decorated church once existed here. On the north side is a tower and spire of Early Decorated design, the tower stiffened by massive buttresses in pairs at the angles, which at the gallery stage become ornamental pinnacles with arcading and niches, containing figures of saints and bishops, the whole of which, and in particular the figures, are of a later date. When Loggan drew it, the late Decorated crocketing could not have existed, but something much simpler and more in the style of, say, 1300-1310. The corbels and finials have all been changed since his time. There is every probability that on the tower the lily, as emblematical of the Virgin, was the predominating motive in both finials and crockets. Now there is but one fleur-de-lis left, and that so small as almost to escape notice. The repairers from 1500 onwards, each modifying or changing to suit their own standard of correctness, have almost stripped the tower of its early decorative features, but luckily the ball-flower ornaments, being less exposed to the weather, have survived. So have two gargoyle figures, one with banded mail, and unless our authorities on such matters (Lord Dillon included) are all at sea, they are a century older than the crocketing and finials which we now see. Of the head-dresses, usually a good criterion of date, only one of the early fourteenth-century type has come to light after protracted search; it is a low crown with its three trefoils much depressed. There are, however,

two or perhaps three heads, with the modern square cap fully developed; the heads beautiful, but, alas! why capped with such post-Elizabethan head-gear?

The old **Convocation House**, though very interesting, proves to have no claim to the remote antiquity sometimes ascribed to it. Among the Oriel MSS. is a memorandum (O. H. S. V. p. 62) drawn up by the College, in the fourteenth century, which ascribes its erection to Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, in 1320. The style of the windows on the south and of the groining-bosses fully confirms this statement. It has suffered much by having one side masked with a Tudor wall, broken by false windows introduced in utter disregard of the interior openings and of the need of light.

Cat Street, which runs northwards to the east of the church, *Catorum Vicus*, street of cats, or *Vicus Murilegorum*, jocularly 'Street of mice-catchers,' was once further dignified by an addition and called St. Catherine's Street from a supposed chapel near it. Schydyard Street, now Oriel Street, has also had an imaginary origin attributed to it, as though 'Schedesyrd' were derived from 'scheda,' meaning a roll of paper or strip of papyrus. But an older version of the name Sid-therd-street¹ (Saxon, side-thred-straet), Silk Thread Street, opens a far more reasonable derivation, the *y* in the later versions probably being a mistake for the Saxon *th*, which is so much like it in form. There are still some who wonder that a *y* with an *e* over it should be read *the* and not *ye*.

P. 141. 'In Catt Streete, towards the farther end, there is the back Doore of Hart-Hall on the right hand, and the great Front of the new Schooles on the left. (P. 142) On the further end of the which Schooles, there is a passage leading to the North Doore of the Schooles, and that part of Exeter Coll. which hindered our passage before.'

The back door of Hart Hall still exists close to the north wall of All Souls' Library, but the passage on the north side of the Schools has disappeared, as has already been noticed. Here Hutten is very rapid; he works his way to Blue Boar Lane, and is content to omit the colleges of All Souls, Queen's, and University. There is no apparent reason for following a bad example, and at the risk of being tedious it

¹ *Wi.* 436.

is proposed to take in view a third and even a fourth section of the High Street.

xvii. **High Street, Third Section ; Cat Street to Queen's College.**

First, then, from Cat Street to the lane to St. Peter's, and begin with the site of All Souls. The west side has been already spoken of, and the corner house as well. Next to this Charlton Inn or house of Bereford was a **tenement** of **St. Frideswyde**, whose position is settled by the licence to take in mortmain, 1442 (V. p. 140, xlix.), as between the tenement of the parishioners of St. Mary's on the east and the tenement called Berford Hall sometime Charlton's Inn on the west. Next came **St. Mary's tenement**, of which Oriel College had the superintendence. In 1443, Walter Lyhert (*ibid.* liii.) Provost and the Fellows of Oriel, as rectors of the church of Saint Mary the Virgin, quit claim to Roger Keys, Warden of All Souls, all their right in a certain piece of ground or tenement upon which is situated the eastern part of the site or manse of the said college, viz. that between the tenement lately Roger Skybowe's on the east and a tenement upon which another part of the same College is situated which was lately the Prior of St. Frideswyde's, on the west, and extending to St. Marie's Strete on the south, they receiving eighteen shillings a year for St. Mary's. In May, 1445 (*ibid.* liv.), the two churchwardens of St. Mary's also release their rights in the same. The next tenement was that called **Skybowe's** in the last document, **Skibbowe's** in Gutch (*Coll. and Halls*, p. 255). Of this there is an earlier lease, not dated, but probably about the year 1255 (V. p. 137, x.): Michael the prior and the convent of the church of Saint John the Baptist of Scyreburne give to Roger le Sclater the land which was formerly John of Stanlee's in the parish of St. Mary's which lies between the land of the Nuns of Stodley on one side and the land of Geoffrey Torbeville on the other, rendering thereout eight shillings per annum. A Roger Cotiler parted with it in 1415 (*ibid.* xi.) to John Nafferton and Daniel Bradwell, clerks, Fellows of University College, they to John Gybbes, Alderman, in 1416, on whose death his brother Thomas Gybbes, also Alderman, conveyed it to John Tanner, and after three more transfers it came to Thomas Chichely, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and two

others, in 1437. Going onwards to the east, comes **Stodeley's entrie**. In 1473 (*ibid.* p. 141, lvi.) is a demise, but without the usual east and west boundaries: The Prioress (Alianor) and the Convent of Stodeley lease to John Stokes Warden of All Souls a messuage called Stodeley's Entrie situated in the high street of Oxford in the parish of St. Mary near the aforesaid College abutting upon the aforesaid street on the south and upon the tenement and soil of the said college on the north paying yearly thereout to the same convent two marks.

Northwards up the entry here, it seems, would be the road to two interior plots, as they prove to be, but the documents about them are very few indeed. One of these plots was some **land** of the **University** leased by the Chancellor and Proctors in 1451 (*V.* p. 141, lv.) to the Warden and Fellows of All Souls; described as the whole ground of the University with garden in Catestreet in St. Mary's parish between a **tenement** of **Evesham** on the north and a **tenement** of **St. Mary's** on the south, for seven years, rent four shillings a year. The Evesham tenement must be south of Grandpont Hall, for that reached from Cat Street to Queen's College garden. The part of the site remaining, on the east, includes the two strips between the first quadrangle and Drowda Hall. The one which adjoins Stodeley Entry has three titles—**Marcham's**, **Le Wynmille**, and **Redehous**. In 1476 (*ibid.* lxi.), John Marcham, Chaplain, grants to Richard Mylet of Oxon a messuage in St. Mary's parish in the High Street situated between All Souls College on the west and the Entry of the Prior and convent of St. Frideswyde on the east; which messuage was of old called **Le Wynmille** and now the **Redehous**. In a later demise, 1530 (*ibid.* lxxv.), it is said to be situated between the messuage of All Souls on the west and the messuage belonging to St. Peter's Church on the east part. In the margin of this, Wood adds: 'This tenement is that building on the east side of the Warden's lodgings and 'tis the study belonging to the Warden.' It was also known by the name **Rose Inn**.

Drowda Hall, the next tenement, probably heads the list for variety of spelling; commencing with **Drogheda**, an Irish word not very easy for English throats, it took the forms **Droozedayeshalle** in 1294, **Drowedes** in 1375, **Doghtur** 1443, from which came **Doughter**, **Droughter**, **Drogheda** 1241, **Drosda**, **Drowda** **Drowdal**, **Dugtha**, and **Tredagh**. As it paid a small rent to

St. Peter's-in-the-East, and has been in the possession of University College since 1375, these various names can be easily verified. It has a parish boundary cross within about two feet of its west wall, and is the first house in St. Peter's parish, and nearly opposite University College gateway. It was William of Drokeda's house which, in 1241 (V. p. 129), he gave to God and St. Mary and to St. John the Baptist of Shyrburne, lying between the land which was Walter Hinge's and the land which was Alwin le Tornor's, for an annual commemoration service, together with all his books of Theology, a gradual, a troper, a portiforium, a chalice worth two marks, and other vestments which belong to the priest ministering *in albis* before the altar. In the quit-claim of 1255 it has the same boundaries. It is mentioned in the City Court records of 1294 (Tw. 23, p. 328) in a case of defamation, uttered before the hall, damage set at forty shillings. The following statements rest on the false charter of Chapyrnay, which may, however, in this case be giving true information about them (Tw. 23, p. 366): 'the eighth messuage is situated in the High Street which leads from the four-ways to the east gate in the parish of St. Peter in the East between the tenement of St. John's Hospital outside the gate, both on the east and on the west and for this messuage we paid in ready money (*prae manibus*) to the Prior of Schyrborn and his confraternity forty marks; it is called Drowda Hall and has a garden of four perches in length and two in breadth and pays per annum twelve pence.'

Inge Hall lay either to the west or east of Drogheda, probably the latter, but its parish is uncertain; Wood (*City*, i. 88) says it is in St. Mary's, and the charter he quotes is *Wi.* 445. **Gutter Hall** was somewhere further on to the east, but it cannot yet be said whether it stood on the site of the present Queen's College or not. It was a house belonging to the Chantry of St. Thomas, as is seen in a document of 1507 (V. p. 130): Oriel College and John Lark and William Chambre proctors of the chantry of St. Thomas in St. Mary's Church demise to Queen's College a messuage in St. Peter's in the East, called of old Le Gutter Hall, situate between a tenement of Osney on the west and a tenement once of Robert Willowsby on the east: rent twenty-one shillings a year. In 1541 Richard Gunter (V. p. 131) sold it to Queen's College, when it is described as situated on the east part of a tenement sometime belonging to Stodeley Nunnery.

Willoughby Hall or Wilby, *Domus Kirkby*, appears from the

1507 charter to have lain to the east of Gutter Hall. In 1268 (Tw. 23, p. 75) it was given to Osney, being then situated between land of the Hospital of St. John on one side and land which was Ernisius' the son of Aylwyn the Turner¹ on the other. In 1349 (Tw. 23, p. 524) Alan of Kylingworth by his will left to Dionysia his wife, *inter alia*, a tenement called Wylibycourt situated in the parish of St. Peter in the East between a tenement of Walter de Hydebrugge on one side and a tenement of Nicholas de Glatton on the other, also twenty shillings annual rent out of the tenement of the same Nicholas de Glatton. The names of these tenants afford very little help in this place. In 1401 (V. p. 125), The Prioress (Agnes) and Convent of Stodeley give to Thomas de Carlile the Provost and to the scholars of Queen's Hall a void place in the parish of St. Peter's between a tenement of the College called **Goter Hall** on the west and tenements of the same College let to various tenants on the east: this void place in the time of Mabilla the prioress of Stodeley having been a stall (*selda*) held by Robert Wyleby and Agnes his wife of Studley Priory. In 1442 (V. p. 127) the Abbot of Osney granted to the college a tenement called Wyllaby Hall, for the augmentation of the college or Hall, between a College tenement on the east and a tenement of St. John's Hospital on the west. At present these boundaries seem to contradict one another, it may even be that Wilby Hall and Wilby Court were different places.

Of the group of houses once occupying the present front of Queen's College, as shown in both our maps, little can be said with certainty. **Bowyer's Hall** has been suggested for one, but its boundaries (V. p. 129) are so peculiar, that somewhere south of St. Peter's churchyard seems a probable site; these are given, in 1342, as between tenements of the hospital of St. John on the south, east and west, and a tenement of Osney on the north. Neither Wood nor Mores give any definite information as to the old places on the site of the College. It is more from the general impression given by the documents than from their exact wording that we suppose Thos. Marescall, the farrier's, tenement to have been somewhere up to the north-west of the site, but not reaching to St. Nicholas Hall, which was the property of St. John's Hospital. The document dated 1341 (V. p. 128) runs thus: Thomas le Marescall gives to Mr. William de Wildelond a place in the parish of St. Peter-in-the-East lying

¹ He had a house touching Drowda Hall.

lengthwise from the wall of the Abbot of Osney as far as the street reaching from the Hall of St. Nicholas to St. Peter's Church. This last is always New College Lane. In the next document the north boundary remains the same, but the south boundary is a garden of a hall of the scholars of Queen's Hall. This garden was probably that afterwards alienated to William of Wykeham, and formed part of the site of New College and of the college gardens.

The ancient buildings of Queen's claim attention in this place, being those shown in Agas and Loggan. They appear as a group of buildings of good Decorated character in the main, whose front was toward St. Edmund Hall. It is almost certain, indeed, that the present side entrance in that direction stands on the site of the original gateway, which according to Green's drawing must have had some of the best groining in Oxford over it. The site of the chapel, which was to the south of the old quadrangle, was revealed in 1887 in a remarkable way. In inserting a hydrant exactly in the middle of the front quadrangle, a superiorly worked foundation was found to reach from that point nearly to the passage between the present chapel and hall; the space to the east of this had been paved. On examination it was immediately recognized as being the west wall of the ante-chapel, built in 1518 by Dr. Robert Langton to the honour of God, of the Blessed Virgin and All Saints; and an engraving by Burgher shows that the college chapel, consecrated in 1420, was not, as Bereblock suggests, a simple chapel of two bays, but of three, with a remarkable square ante-chapel at the west of it of greater area than the chapel itself. The one measured forty-nine feet by thirty-nine, the chapel forty-nine feet by twenty-seven. There is little doubt that the walls to a height of two or three feet are still there under the grass-plot on the east side. It seems probable, judging by the strength of the buttresses, that the whole building was groined in stone. The present second or northern quadrangle is drawn by Loggan as a kind of college farm-yard. If the combined length of the chapel and ante-chapel (eighty-four feet¹) was, as drawings clearly show us, one side of the original quadrangle of Queen's, some idea can be formed of the small and compact character of the old buildings. To the west of that quadrangle, in both maps, projects a building almost as long as the chapel, but the present front quadrangle extends altogether more than forty feet beyond this.

¹ i. e. allowing for the partition-wall, which is 4 ft. by the plan.

This ends the north side of this section of High Street; the south side has now to be dealt with. It abounds in old halls, of whose actual position we are tolerably certain. The lane where we commence, now Grove Street, a corruption of Grope, had other and various names. In 1390 or thereabouts it is called Kybald Twychen, if we trust the description in the deed (V. p. 364); not long ago it was Magpie Lane. The Magpie Inn is still a handsome house there, No. 5, but it is no longer the centre of the great carrier trade from Oxford to London, as in the seventeenth century. At the upper and eastern corner of this lane stood the two **Lion Halls**, drawings of which have come down to us. Their names occur frequently in the Osney Rentals, 1259-1411, now and then as Haliwell's Tenements (V. pp. 470-476). They are sometimes said to be in Grope Lane, and sometimes near St. Mary's Church; the tenement on the west side of the lane being distinguished as opposite the church. The remarkable cellars of this, a church house, have now been nearly all done away with. In 1431 (V. p. 500) the Lion Halls are said to be two doors off Wormenhall Hall, and in 1513 (V. p. 488) they are let in conjunction with George Hall and Woodcock Hall, implying that the three lay near to each other; this is confirmed by other documents. Wood's note runs thus: 'George Hall with part of Lyon Hall and Woodcock Hall let by Osney to Thomas Bently physitian and to Alice his wife.' George Hall comes next, sometimes called Toftes House. This was also an Osney house, and can be recognized in their lists as mentioned close to the Lion Halls or to Woodcock. In 1377 (V. p. 464) the order is; Godwin's tenement, i. e. George's Hall, then (i.) Sibella Haliwell's tenement, (ii.) (iii.) unnamed, but the same as the two Lion Halls. In 1441 (V. p. 476) the order is (ii.) and (iii.) Haliwell, i. e. Lions' Hall and George Hall, the order being changed. In 1385 and others occurs the order, Nevill Hall, George Hall, and one or two Lion Halls; and this order may be taken as the true one, when approaching from the east.

Next comes **Broadgates Hall** in St. Mary's, somewhere opposite to All Souls gateway. The land to the west of Barry's new buildings at University belongs to Christ Church as successor to Osney, and this hall may be safely located there. Wood (*City*, i. 135) states it to have been a special abode of illuminators, and refers to a rental of 1463, from Osney Abbey. Elsewhere (V. p. 420), he notes in 1327: from the house of the Illuminator 60s. by Mr. Richard de

Staynton, and adds: 'note, there is noe mention of Broadgates Hall (in the parish of S. Marie).'

Staunton Hall, the next tenement, has been always connected with the site of the Three Tuns, a noted inn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Three documents came with it to University College, of 1356, 1357, and 1446; they mention only its name and parish, but in the Register of Congregation, 1528 (D. p. 3, 270), its east and west boundaries are given, and these are all that are required: 'item of an annuall rent of a tenement called of old time Staunton hawle situated in the hygh street betweene Deep Hall on the east part and the tenement of the Abbot of Osney on the west called Brod gates, paid yearly by the Master and Fellows of University College: sometime and now by the Principall and Boursers of Brasnose 12d.'

The next was **Deep Hall**, which, with the last, stood on the west side of University gateway, and therefore in St. Mary's parish. We have a reference to this hall in 1332 (V. p. 3), when Richard de Tekene and Joan his wife, Wm. Golafre and Katherine his wife, and Juliana Feteplace grant to Masters William de Nadale, and Robert of Pateryngton clerks (Fellows of University) a messuage in the great street of Oxford in the parish of St. Mary called le Selvernehall, otherwise le Spicershalle, situated between a tenement of the convent of Stodelegh on the west and a tenement called La Lodelowehall on the east. Wood adds: 'I think they stood between the College gate and J. Crosse's'—perhaps the Three Tuns Inn. **Selverne Hall**, the last in St. Mary's parish, was therefore just west of the older or western gateway. It came into the College's possession in this way (Smith, *Univ. Coll.* p. 57): 'Betwixt King *Ed.* the I. Survey, in 1278 or 1279, and the Time it ⟨Selverne Hall⟩ was purchased, ⟨1332⟩ there were three, or more Owners of it. First *Andrew of Durham*, ⟨Alderman⟩ when that Survey was made, and from whom it bare the Name of *Durham-Hall*; afterwards it was called *Selverne-Hall*, and at the Time it was bought ⟨1332⟩, it was called *Spicer's-Hall*, except that *Selvern* and *Spicer* should prove the same Person.' 'In the Interval of the Time above mentioned *Adam Feteplace*, who had been many Years Mayor, was become the Owner of it, and it was bought of his three Daughters, who were then Heiresses.' The particulars of this transfer may be omitted. This last hall, and Great University Hall which comes next, seem rather confused in their naming; this University Hall was also called Spicers and Andrew of

Durham's, being so quoted as the west boundary of Ludlow Hall in 1330 (V. p. 16).

Ludlow Hall, then, is the next in our series, and following that is Little University Hall and Cok on the hope. In 1377 (*ibid.*), Robert Hannely alias Chapman vicar of Bloxham grants to Masters Edmund Lacy and Thomas Nafferton, clerks (Fellows of University Coll.), their reversion in two messuages situated together in the parish of St. Peter in the East between Lodelowhall on the west and a lane called Horsmillane on the east; of which messuages one is called Le lyttle University hall and the other commonly Cok on the hoope. The same two messuages are similarly described in 1401 (*ibid.*), with the addition that the lane is also called Penkeriches Lane. This completes the north boundary of University College, about which it is to be lamented that, being of such high antiquity, it can show us nothing but seventeenth-century buildings or later, interesting as they are. In Wood's time the college was found to be on such a low spot, so subject to floods, that it was resolved to rebuild it as much above the general level as it had formerly been depressed. The old chapel lay south-west of the one quadrangle, and is well shown by Bereblock, whose drawing helps us to understand Agas. Loggan gives more distinctly the two tenements next to Horsemill Lane, and these, judging from his larger views of the colleges, were once the quaintest objects in the whole of the High Street. As far as the commencement of our concluding section of the High Street, the name St. Mary's Street was often applied, but no further than this.

xviii. High Street, Fourth Section; Queen's College Lane to East Gate.

It is now time to devote some few sentences to the part which reaches from Queen's College Lane, or St. Peter's, to Long Wall, a short piece and not very interesting; uncertain as to houses on the north, very clear as to those on the south side. St. George's Hall stood second from the east angle of Queen's College Lane, if Wood's statement (V. p. 235) has been properly understood. After an entry in the rentals of St. John's Hospital of the year 1329: From two stalls under George Hall 8s.:—Wood writes: 'This is reckoned the last saving

one of the selds, tenements &c. on the north side of the High Street and there are 18 in number & dom. Benham is the 9, & the rentall takes them in order from east gate.' From the order so generally adhered to (V. p. 232 et seq.) we may be almost sure that George Hall had St. Katharine's to the west of it.

St. Katharine's is also a house of the same Hospital. In 1330 (V. p. 237) it is placed within East Gate and on the north side of the street. In 1327 (V. p. 232) it stands next to the Entry of St. Nicholas which the Provost of Queen's occupies. In another list of houses let by the Hospital to clerks in 1327 (V. p. 233), it stands between Inge Hall¹ and Borstall, which agrees moderately well. **St. Nicholas Entry** is very possibly represented by Fidler's court, which lately reached to the quadrangle of St. Edmund Hall and contained certain houses, once Airay's, and since Link Lodgings, condemned about six years ago by Magdalen College, the owners. This entry led up to some gardens, &c., of the Hospital. In 1391 (V. p. 244), the garden of New College, i.e. its south-east portion, is described as having tenements of St. John's Hospital on its south side toward the High Street.

Further east was **Whyte Hall** or Wight Hall. Its position is shown fairly well in the following writing of 1449 (V. p. 250): Indenture between Mr. William Say of the one part and Richard Vyse Master of the Hospital of St. John on the other whereby the said Master demised nine tenements with gardens annexed whereof six are situated between the east gate, Oxford, and a tenement of Osney in St. Peter's parish wherein Margaret Exham widow dwells and also three other gardens lying contiguous and bounded by land of <the hospital> on the east and south, and partly by St. Edmund's Hall and the Churchyard of St. Peters on the west and south, and partly by Whytehall on the south. Chapel Hall or Benham's House was near here; it was another tenement of St. John's Hospital, and is mentioned as early as 1262 *m.* as being in the great Street towards East Gate. At the turning into the royal way under the walls stood a house of St. John's Hospital, mentioned *c.* 1251 (V. p. 195) as 'the corner house within E gate neare to the house of Galf: Belewe.' The present passage between Nos. 56 and 57 is all that remains of this old royal way, the walls showing distinctly between Nos. 57 and 58 and in the cellar quite up to the street front.

¹ The site of Inge Hall is so difficult to establish with accuracy, that it has been omitted in this account (see p. 183).

Going northward from this along the underwall, the next place was a **Black Hall**, which is merely mentioned as an eastern boundary of property near here. Touching it was an **Elm Hall**. In an undated document, either *c.* 1267-78 or 1404-30 (Tw. 23, p. 71), we read that the Abbot (William) and Convent of Oseney allow to Giles Stockwell an easement in a wall between Elme Hall and Blake Hall. Of other places further north we have even less definite information.

With regard to the houses on the south side of the High Street, the whole district from Logic Lane to King Street was once designed to be the abode of the Scholars of Magdalen, then known as 'Magdalen Hall of the foundation of Wm. Waynflete.' The lane called **Logic Lane**, the site of the supposed Logic School founded by King Alfred, has three older names—Horse-mull; Jawdewyns or Jaudowens, of unknown origin; and Pencheryche or Pencridge, a family name. It has two sharp turns in it about two-thirds of the distance toward Merton Street. It was there that two lanes once crossed it—Kybald Lane to the west (surviving in Grove Place), most of which was first leased and then sold and walled off, and Harehall Lane or Nightingale Lane, of which every trace had died out when the New Examination Schools were built. The account in Wood's *City* does not explain how he understood this last lane to run, but the discovery of a little sketch of his, which had strayed into MS. Rawlinson, D. 912 (p. 56), and which shows its course east to west, disproves the theory of its being the same as King Street. This incident also confirms an idea already formed, that several items in Wood's collection (called V. or D. 2), though referred to in his notes, have never been compared by him with his work upon the City. The plan assists us in regard to five plots of ground, including two noted Inns, the Saracen's Head, and the Angel. Commencing from the east, Wood designates these as Dr. Ruff's House, Dr. Eaton's House or **Bostar Hall**, the **Saracen's Head**, and two tenements, once only one, bought by the University of Wymond the Linge-dra- per. Then, commencing at a point flush with the east side of St. Peter's Lane, and almost as broad as the other four, comes the **Angel**, whose front occupied at one time about one-quarter of the entire length of this section of High Street.

There is nothing else requiring remark except that Wood has not noted an odd title of King Street in past days, viz. 'The Lane leading to Johnnyslane,' i. e. to St. John's Street, now Merton Street. The four

boundaries of the plot sold by St. John's Hospital and others in 1448 (V. p. 179) to Sir John Godmanston, Co. Essex, as an interim tenant till Magdalen Hall was incorporated, are High Street on the north, Jonys Lane on the south, the lane leading from East Gate to Jonys Lane on the east, and Jawdens Lane on the west. At the north-west corner stood Shield Hall, belonging to Littlemore. It is given as the western boundary of Boarstall Hall as early as 1336 (V. p. 180, xv.). It was leased to Littlemore between 1392 and 1411 (Tw. 23, p. 207), when Richard de Tewe, Master of St. John's Hospital, leased to Matilda Prioress of Littlemore a place in Oxon, lying in a certain toft called Sheildhall, joining to a hall called Borstall Hall.

Borstall or **Bostar Hall** came next, recognized by Wood as the house of Dr. Eaton. Its measurements are given in 1448 (V. p. 208) as thirty-seven feet frontage and a hundred and thirty-five feet deep, and Hare Hall contiguous to it on the south side was seventy-five feet by sixty-six. It was the place on which (ibid.) Waynflote founded his Magdalen Hall in 1448, Sir John Godmanston granting it in legal form to the Bishop on Aug. 1. Its western boundary then was (V. p. 178, i.) a tenement or Inn of old called Le Saresynshede, belonging to the Church of St. Peter, and this is the next which claims attention. It was in early times the possession of one of the Kepeharme family, as shown in the next document.

Then came **two University** or **University Hall tenements** side by side. In 1273 *m.* (V. p. 15), Wymund (le lyngedraper) and Agnes his wife grant to the Chancellor and masters and to their successors their houses in this parish and street which are situated between the house of John Kepeharme on the west and the house of Martin the stationer on the east. In 1304 (ibid.) Thomas de Salehyrst bedel of the University leases one of the same houses, or one south of it, to some Fellows of University, and then it is termed Wymond the Lyngedraper's.

The **Tabard Inn**, the Angel of our early days, is described in 1448 (V. p. 178, v.) as between Harehall Lane or Nightingalehall Lane on the south, and the King's High Way on the north, tenements belonging to the Master and fellows of University on the west, and a tenement belonging to the Mayor and burgesses of the town, but of old to Oriell College on the east.

Next was a **messuage of St. John's Hospital**; but the Tabard or Angel was also occupied by St. John's Hospital: thus, c. 1400 (V. p. 177, x.), The Provost and Scholars of Oriall Coll. grant to the

hospital of St. John one shop with a garden in St. Peter's, between a shop of the said College on the east, and a tenement of the said hospital on the west called Le Tabbard on the Hope. The shop was part of a larger property acquired by Oriel, as follows: In 1348 (O. 21) Thomas de Bradwel granted to John de Horwode parson of the church of Horspath, a hall called **Bradwell Hall** and a place adjacent in the parish of St. Peter in the east the said Hall being situate between the tenement of Walter le Degheré on the east and the place aforesaid. John de Horwode conveyed the property in 1349 to John de Staunton and others, fellows of Oriel: in 1352 John de Staunton conveyed to John de Ingoldnieles and Elias de Trikyngham, also fellows: in 1356 Ingoldnieles conveyed to Alexander de Feribrigge and John de Middelton, fellows: and finally in 1361 Middelton conveyed to Oriel College. The property was then described as Soler Hall, formerly Bradwell Hall. Other documents give us the order Tabard or Angel, a messuage counted as belonging to it, and Soler Hall, belonging to Oriel. It is not mentioned in the assignment in 1442 of the Oxford property of Oriel to the City (*Ogle, Royal Letters*, p. 99).

Wylmond's Tenement, the property of Eynsham Abbey, comes next; it is described in 1448 (V. p. 179, vii.) as the tenement with garden (which Robert Wylmond the Carpenter occupies but John Edwards the University bedell is tenant of, by permission of the hospital) in the parish of St. Peter, between a tenement of the Abbey of Eynsham on the east and a tenement of the mayor and Burgesses of Oxon on the west, the King's high way on the north and Hare lane on the south. Then came two small tenements of St. John's Hospital; but, since they have Bedwyn's tenement placed to their west, it is to be supposed that whatever buildings stood on the last two plots did not interfere very much. They are thus described in 1448 (V. p. 179, viii.): Two small tenements with garden between the tenement of Bedwyn Lymonour late of Oxford on the east (St. Frideswyde's property) and a tenement of Eynsham Abbey on the west, the King's high way on the north and a garden belonging to the priory of St. Frideswyde on the south. At the very angle where now are the Non-Collegiate buildings, was a tenement of St. Frideswyde, a J-shaped piece of ground as necessitated by the document last quoted. Christ Church, it seems, held this land till the New Examination Schools were erected. The tenements south of those in the range just noted are left for future consideration.

**xix. Blue Boar Lane, Oriel and Corpus, and
Kybald Street.**

Hutten's company will again prove acceptable when we come to **Bore Lane**, ready to take in hand another course west to east, over a district not so much studied, south of the High Street, i. e. along Blue-boar Lane or Little Jewry, and Burne Lane or Bear Lane. Here Oriel College intervenes, and perhaps has always done so, but the course continues with Kybald Street, now Grove Place, through the double bend in Logic Lane and onwards through Nightingale Lane to the lane from East Gate, under the walls.

P. 147. 'Therefore retourning to the Fish Markett, there is a Lane neare unto Ch. Ch. which is called St. Edward's Lane. This Lane hath Houses on the left hand, and the Wall of Christ Church, called (P. 148) Doctor Tresham's Wall (because unto him the oversight of the building that Wall was committed) on the right hand, till you come to Peckwater's Inn Corner, opposite whereunto is Beare Lane before mentioned. This St. Edward's Lane runneth on still, as before, with Houses on the left hand and the foresaid Wall of Ch. Ch. on the right.'

St. Edward's Lane passed under many different names, some of which have been mentioned already. The first places of note in it were **Jewry Hall** and **White Hall**, of neither of which do we know anything definite. Then Great Civil Law School, of which we have only this evidence from a rental of St. John's Hospital of 1368 (V. p. 239): from a tenement in Little Jewry facing the great school there, which the Scholars of Balliol Hall hold, 13*d.* qu.: the side of the street is not mentioned. Of the Canon Law Schools there are many notices; the first in 1366, when a small quit rent was paid, probably for a school and garden adjoining (Tw. 23, p. 400). It seems to have been in the lane mentioned under Chequer Inn. In 1461, the year of the deposition of Henry VI, the York and Lancaster contest stirred up some Yorkist to ornament its walls; hence this proclamation 'against those that make gallowses about the King's armes in Canon Law Schools' (D. 3, p. 113). In the Proctors' accounts for 1464 occurs, among other grants toward rebuilding of these schools, £20 given by Mr. John Bowser towards the building of 'Canon Schooles.' Finally we learn from

the Vice-Chancellor's accounts of 1550, viz. of Dr. William Tresham, in whose lane we are (V. p. 338), that he charges himself with 40s. received from John Wayght for the stones of the Canon School in ruins or rather pulled down; and again, with 5s. for the old portions of the seats of the Canon Schools.

Those who know the lane will remember an indentation on its south side, about halfway along; this occurs at a parish boundary, and in excavations lately made, some good foundations were seen there, probably those of **St. Edward Hall**, into which old parish we have now entered. The Hall paid a rent to Osney, and the name occurs frequently in their rentals (V. pp. 417-79); the only guide to its position is that it comes next before Eagle Hall, and seems in their books to be the first in this parish. Probably on the north side hereabouts, was Crim or Crime Hall, also mentioned in the Osney rentals in 1317 and 1392 (V. p. 471). The latter entry refers to some repairs, and reads thus: to the two Danberys working for sixteen days and the second fifteen days more at Crimhall, each of them receiving 5*d.* per day; and to two labourers digging stones in the old foundation at Crimhall 2*s.*

Eagle Hall comes next on the south side, and is found, in one or two places, connected with Ape Hall, so that their grounds probably touched one another, and **Ape Hall** was at one of the four corners at the south end of Alfred Street. The experiments hitherto tried for fitting together the several areas around this four-ways have been made with the idea of **St. Edward's** being south of Blue Boar Lane, and at the west of the rear of Peckwater quadrangle. The cemetery of that church was first discovered some years back, when the main drainage scheme revealed the position of nearly twenty burials in the lane west of the corner where Alfred Street now meets it. On another occasion, only two years ago, seven or eight more Christian interments were disclosed a little to the south of the line of the old sewer. They commenced a few feet to the east of the Wheatsheaf passage; and in that passage, in its south section before the first turn occurs (to the left), a wall of great solidity and excellently built was discovered last year running east and west. Further examination of it cannot yet be made, but there are good grounds for believing that it is the wall of the long-lost church of St. Edward. Some skeletons were also found in the second section of the lane, which runs east and west, and west of the Church as supposed, Eagle Hall had other names: **Heron**, arising from its

sign being a bad representation of the bird, from which came Yren and Iron; civilized people in early times, like the vulgar of our days, having more than a tendency to avoid the aspirate. In some lists it is placed near to St. Edward's Hall, hence its neighbourhood is all that has at present been ascertained. The angle formed by Boar Lane and a south section of St. Edward's Street, is that occupied, *c.* 1240, by a **message** of Christina Pady (*Wi.* 374), and thus described: I Christina daughter of Ralph Pady with the consent of my husband Jordan Rasi, have granted to God and the Church of St. Frideswyde, together with my body which I have given them for burial, all that message with four selds under the solar, in All Saints parish, which is at the west corner of that street which reaches from the great street toward the Church of St. Edward. It will be remembered that the corresponding corner to the north was Parn Hall.

Glassen Hall, or Kepeharme's, was somewhere near the church, as is stated in a charter of about 1140 (*V.* p. 542), to which a John Cepeharme and a Hugh Kepeharme were witnesses. As Vine Hall was one of its boundaries, it seems most likely to have been to the south-east of the four-ways. The other boundary was a **Soller Hall**, a tenement of John Dokelington, the position of which is uncertain.

Past the four-ways and further on eastward along Bear Lane, or as Twyne (23, p. 524) says, 'on the north part of the street leading from Shideyard toward the Church of St. Edward on the west side of St. Thomas Hall as I have since learnt,' was a **Mayden Hall**, 1349. This is the same St. Thomas' Hall which was noticed in the High Street as being on the parish boundary; a mean little cottage marks its position in Agas. **Brid Hall**, east of the same passage, was similarly noted, and this also reached down to the Bourne Lane. Opposite to this was one of the White Halls.

Turning up Oriel Street, there stood in succession **Broadgate Hall**, **Chimera**, and **St. Cuthbert's**. Now we are facing St. Mary Hall, in Oriel Lane. It has lost most of the signs of its antiquity, but there still remains a pile of buildings at the south-east of the quadrangle, cellar, Dining Hall, and Chapel, neatly and consistently designed and built in 1639-40. The opposite angle is more ornate and of later execution.

Not being able to continue our course toward the east, we must needs go round southward, and having now a multiplicity of documents to guide us, and, better still, Dr. Shadwell's able arrangement of them to teach us, there need be no hesitation in placing **Bedell**

Hall where the present Oriel Library now is, and east of it a third garden of St. Thomas' chantry; then **Stylyngton's** messuage, a narrow strip running throughout, west to east, but rather too far north to have been the former continuation of our lane toward Kybald Street; then, southward still, the **Great School** or Law Schools, and a **Stodele Tenement**. Next **Spaldyng's**, **Bookbynder's**, and **Wyght's** or **Wyth's** occupying the western half of the present back quadrangle: the eastern half consists of a tenement of St. Frideswyde's and one of Elias Pykard. Next **Aungevyn's**, with **Hore's** to the east of it, these two covering the northern side of the present front quadrangle. Le Oryole and St. Martin's or Merton Hall, at the south-east corner, the site of the present chapel, complete the square. Wood (MS. O. pp. 4-39) supplies us with most of the documents about the site of Oriel, but to have them scientifically arranged is quite another matter.

Our eastern route is now ready for us, and as we look up Grove Place, the **house of Absolon** the clerk is on our left, and **Dosier Hall** on our right. **Jesus Hall**, a short way on, on the south or right-hand side, is put down in one place as joined to **Biham** or **Beam Hall**, and in another is said to be the same Hall, and on the site of the quaint little house lately an inn. Here the road at present ceases, but we proceed. A **Chequer Hall** on the left is followed by **William** (once **Kybald**) **Hall**, and that by **St. Andrew Hall**, the farthest in this lane belonging to St. Mary's parish. Somewhere opposite to William Hall was **Ladderd Hall**, which is mentioned as being in **Kibaldstrete**, and as owing an annual quit-rent of 2s. to St. Frideswyde's. A **Rose Hall** and a **White**, acquired by University College in 1330 (V. p. 16), are the first two in St. Peter's parish; and next to them **Brend Hall**, quoted as a boundary only. Then came **Hart Hall**, **Hertheved**, **Herthowed**, or **Dosier** (*héavod*, Saxon for head), which was a clergy house; it is also said by Wood that **Hertshead** was, temp. Edw. III, the name of the house near St. Alban's Hall. In 1518 (Tw. 23, p. 592) this piece of the lane from where it met the site of University was leased to Corpus; in the Council Books of the City it stands thus: '7 Sept. 9. Eliz. Corpus Xti Coll. to have the lane behind Universitie Coll. <Smith puts in margin 'formerly called Kybald St.'>, for 21 yeares to begin at Michaelmas next, payenge yerely 4s. at the least, all men's backsides reserved unto them and makinge at ech ende a wall with 2 great gates.' It must have been in this state that **Hutten** saw the lane.

Crossing the present Logic Lane, probably at the 'twychen,' we enter the east section of the lane having the names **Harehall** Lane and **Nightingalehall** Lane, from two halls of some importance, the former to the north, the latter to the south. It was demised by the City to St. John's Hospital in 1446 (V. p. 176), when John North, mayor of Oxford and the whole commonality granted to Richard Wyse, Master of the Hospital of St. John, Harehall Lane or Nightingale Hall lane in the parish of St. Peter in the east. The Master paid 2s. a year rent for it on several occasions. The measurements of it are given in 1448 (V. p. 180); it contained then in length three hundred and forty feet of the assize, the east end containing in breadth eight feet and three thumbs, and the west end nineteen feet and one thumb and a half, and the middle containing in breadth twelve feet; and on each side of the said lane lay the land belonging to the said hospital. The west end of the said lane ran into **Jawdewingslane** alias Horsman lane and the east end into the lane going under the towne wall from east gate to Jonyslane. The royal licence to the town to sell it was given in 1447 (V. p. 176). With all this information, it seemed strange that Wood had neglected it, but lately it has been discovered that he had planned it out completely (see above, p. 190). **Kybald**, **Kybold**, and **Kybole street** are names applied in various places to all the four branches here, and this leads to some confusion. The **Horsemill** was at the west corner, north side, then on the north **Hare Hall** and garden, seventy-five feet by sixty-six feet; the garden of **The Tabard** came next, **Wilmond's** tenement and one of Eynsham Abbey followed, and then a **garden of Bedwyn**, the property of St. John's Hospital. These are the positions of places north of Hare Hall Lane. **Nightingale Hall** and **Pencryche Hall** occupied the extreme east of the section south of this lane, and a large garden and a small one of Peter Gyles the west of the same.

In a return journey we pick up Hutten again, with apologies for straying so far, and listen to his tale, which some may believe, about Magpie Lane or Grove Lane. The Magpie tavern stands there still, a roomy house with an artistic portico; there are not four prettier in all Oxford.

P. 148. 'Then wee enter into the midst of Mary Hall Lane, and turning on the right hand passe a long by Oriell Colledge on the left hand, and Corpus Christi Coll. on the

right hand. Att the utmost end of Oriell Coll. there is that Lane, whereof wee spake before, commeing out of the High Streete, and opposite unto Catt-Streete Corner. This Lane is commonly called Pie Lane, but I will call it Winking Lane, because the first Printing Presse, that ever came into England, was sett on worke in this Lane by Widdy kind, *alias* Winkin, de Ward a Dutchman.'

Although Hutten's treatise designedly leaves the colleges to be the subject of a later treatise, it will scarcely be allowable for us to skip the large area of Tom Quadrangle and the gardens to the east of it. Entering this area by Tom Gate, but in days before Wolsey replanned everything around here, we should find ourselves in **Great Jury Lane**, with the Great Jewry reaching to Boar Lane to our north; and then, looking not directly across, but rather in the direction of the Deanery, we should notice the wall of the cemetery of St. Frideswyde, and probably a God's House, *Domus Dei* (later **Pittance Hall**), at its angle near a cross-road quite at the Cathedral side of the quadrangle. Here, then, we have three roads to consider. The northernmost would cross Blue Boar Street into the present Alfred Street, the middle one would run through Canterbury College, and the southernmost would lead west of the church of St. Frideswyde to the Priory buildings. There was near Tom Gateway in 1443 (V. p. 276) a **house** of John **Hanvell**: Osney Abbey then let to farm a piece of ground in Jurey Lane almost opposite to the Civil Law School, containing in breadth near the road seven feet, and in length towards a tenement of Balliol College called Burnell's yn fifteen feet, and abutting on its west side upon the tenement of John Hanvell gent. in the corner, which William Smith then held. Burnell's Inn, named from a Dean of Wells, afterwards known as Balliol Hall, because given to that college, and lastly as the Pike Inn, must have been known to Wood and his contemporaries, or they would not locate it so far north as 'opposite Pennyfarthing Street' (now Pembroke Street): a more southern position would suit the requirements of other descriptions. There was, for instance, in 1415 (V. p. 277), a Greek Hall lying east of Burnell's Inn, and this is said also to be near the cemetery of the Church of St. Frideswyde; but taking a general survey of the locality, it may result that the phrase 'near the cemetery' is applied to Greek Hall only, to distinguish it from the Greek Hall in St. Giles. The cemetery was not so

extensive as to have reached from Corpus west wall, where interments have been proved to exist, to the west part of Tom quadrangle. Next came, on the south, the Civil Law Schools, as granted by Balliol in 1526 (V. p. 530): The Master (William White) and the Fellows of Balliol College granted to the Dean and Canons of Cardinal College one toft with a curtelage, upon which was built a certain Inn of study of the civil law, called **London College**, extending on the north side to a lane called Civill scoole Lane, and abutting on the south upon a lane called Frideswide lane and on the west upon the land of the said College. Then came **Leberd** or Libert Hall (Leopard?) or Bissop's House, which is mentioned (Tw. 22, p. 248) as near Greek Hall; it occurs, in the rubric of *Wi.* 102, as the house of Christina, afterwards Griphall, the same as Wood's Gup Hall (*City*, i. 169). **Blakehall** or Crompe's House (*Wi.* 438) was in St. Mary's parish and had its boundaries north and south; so it is presumably not in this section, but in the northern one. It was at the west of Hakborn's house, which in a charter, c. 1215-25 (*Wi.* 114), is described as at the corner as one goes from the church of St. Frideswyde on the left hand into the lane called Gret Jury Layne and the tenement called Blakhall on the west. The northernmost road seems to have had scarcely any place on its west side, but the east side was occupied (1) by **Sampson Hall**, about whose position at the north-west of the present Peckwater quadrangle we have grave doubts; (2) **Peckwater's Inn**, the one above the name in Agas; (3) **Shep Hall**, at the end of the same word in that map; (4) **Vine Hall**, and (5) **Glassen Hall**, the last three of which are clear enough from a deed of 1364 (*City*, i. 171, n. 4). It would seem from the following that the passage through Canterbury College was fairly to the north, for in 1396 (Tw. 23, p. 162) William Chert, a monk, and Prior of Canterbury College, applied to the Mayor and Bailiffs for the release of William Burgeveneye from a bond to the city for the eastern end of a certain lane in Shidezyde belonging to the city and enclosed in the manner following: the head of the lane is toward the west and is between the hall called Vynehall and another called **Sheephall** belonging to Godstow; for which head of the lane the Abbess and convent of Godstow pay to the commonalty 4s. and it contains in length twenty-four feet and in breadth thirteen feet: the other part of the lane is enclosed by the college of St. Mary of Winton in Oxford for the use of Vinehall, and the end toward the east and the south is enclosed by Canterbury College aforesaid. The rents of these two

ends, 12*d.* each, occur about 1390 (Tw. 23, p. 238) in the Chamberlain's accounts. Going along these two parts of a lane, our eastern arm, we are upon Canterbury College ground, and should see **Maryol**, **Shield**, and **Ber** halls, but if we go out into Shydyierd Street, and walk up facing Oriel College, we shall find **Edward Hall**, another **Staple Hall**, a **St. Michael's Hall**, **Fox Hall**, and **Swyneford's Entry** (cf. *Wi.* 158) all in succession, reaching up to Bear Lane. All these eight halls were clearly on the site of Canterbury College, but their order and position are not quite defined. The same halls are also concealed under owners' names (in *Wi.* 114).

Shydyierd Street once ran on south from Canterbury Gate to the City walls. It was leased, probably for the first time, by the City to Corpus in 1556 (V. p. 615), by the name of **St. Frideswide's lane**, described as the lane or street leading from Canterbury College to the town wall on the south side of Corpus Christi College. Almost the whole of the buildings which once stood on the site of Corpus were sold by Merton College to Bishop Fox as property in very bad repair. On the west side of the site, and east of the lane, were four buildings worth notice. At the corner opposite Canterbury Gate was **Corner Hall**, sold by Warden Rawlyns, 1518; south of that was **Nun Hall** or **Leaden Porch**, sold by the abbess of Godstowe. Its four boundaries are given (Tw. 23, p. 663): **Corner Hall** on the north, **Nevellys Yn** on the south, the garden of that Inn on the east and the king's highway on the west. It was eighteen feet in width and forty feet in length. The next was **Nevyll's Inn**, probably **Hunsingore's**, quoted above as south and east of **Nun Hall**, and in a charter of **Urban Hall** as west of **Urban Hall**. In its sale by Merton in 1517, no boundaries are given. Next was **Beke's Inn** towards the south-west corner of the site, omitting the *via regia*, then called **Bachelors' Garden**, i. e. the **Bachelors of Merton**. **Beke's Inn** was sold in 1517 by the Priory of **St. Frideswyde**, and is described (Tw. 23, p. 666) as extending on the west along the street leading from the Church of **St. Mary's** to the monastery, and on the east along a garden of **Nevylle's Inne**, and abutting upon **Bachelor's Garden** on the south, and **Nevyll's Inne** on the north. To the extreme north-east of this site was **Urban Hall**, whose kitchen still remains to us. In the description of this Hall, with other tenements (*ibid.* p. 664), the wall of Merton College is to the east, **Neville's Inn** and **Corner Hall** on the west, the street from Canterbury College to Merton on the north, and the garden called

Nevyll's inne garden on the south: the tenements abut on Bachelors' garden on the south and on Nevyll's on the north¹. Fulman's idea of the Corpus site is reproduced in Dr. Fowler's volume, *History of Corpus* (O. H. S. xxv. p. 69). Both it and Twyne's notes seem to avoid mentioning a **Christopher Hall** near to Nevill's Inn.

Before crossing the supposed extension of Grove Street, a few arrears of information shall be disposed of. For Christ Church history, *vide* 52-60, *Pl.* With regard to the cemetery, properly so-called, of St. Frideswyde, an extract will show us that it was north of the Cathedral. In 1374 (Tw. 23, p. 345) was enrolled the testament of Thomas de Swyneshull, who desires his body to be buried in the cemetery of the church of St. Frideswyde facing the north door of the church; to this a note has been added, 'hence something can be collected about the site of that cemetery.' In 1342 (*ibid.* p. 469), Adam Blaket was indicted before John Fitz Perys and William le Iremonger bailiffs of Oxford for that he on the Thursday next before Palm Sunday feloniously entered by night the enclosure of the cemetery of the Church of St. Frideswyde and there stole and carried off one arm of the great (capitalis) cross of the cemetery of the value of half a mark, and afterwards broke it into four parts. The arm (vana) was afterwards found and seized. He confessed to the taking, and pleaded that he was at the time a lunatic and not compos mentis. This seems to throw doubt on the choice either of a spot near Merton, or one near Mercury's pond, as the site of the noted **Jews Cross**, an undoubted part of whose base is still preserved. For the St. Frideswyde legend, *vide* p. 51, *Pl.*

The architectural features of the Cathedral would require a small volume to do justice to them, but one point may even here be adverted to. When the three (or two) arches were discovered near the present restored shrine of St. Frideswyde, much stress was laid upon the arches being wider than the impost and leaving a ledge at their junction; that feature is undoubtedly early, but it occurs in the time of Henry III in the City bastions and in the Decorated towers of St. Martin's and St. Peter-in-the-East. It was a simple plan of doing without elaborate centering, used from Roman times, and even now practised in India; it is by itself no criterion of date.

¹ This statement of boundaries is confused, and has puzzled older antiquaries. One of them, in a note opposite the passage in Twyne, suggests that by the expression 'Nevyll's yn garden' must be understood an irregular piece of ground spreading round several other tenements.

Oriel College, though one of the oldest foundations, was entirely rebuilt in the seventeenth century, 1618-42, *regnante Carolo*; it has few of the bad features of buildings of its period, being designed quietly but tastefully. It will be noticed that in Agas there is no chapel at the angle towards Merton, but there may be one intended at the centre of the north part of the main quadrangle, presuming that the cross at the apex is a safe guide. Why this is so it is not easy to say, as the chapel of 1373 is supposed with good reason to have been towards the south, where it is shown by Bereblock.

Corpus, like Oriel, should be studied by the aid of Bereblock and Agas. Its subdued or lowly proportions have been lost to us: a third storey here, as at New College, has ruined the design. Agas, by a little manoeuvring, shows us, in a marked manner, the old cloister of Corpus, greatly modified afterwards, and not improved, at the time of the erection of the Turner buildings. In the library are some choice bits of wall decoration; but the finest work, perhaps the finest to be found in any college rooms in Oxford, is that over the main gateway, intended, as usual, for the residence of the President. In the Introduction, notice was taken of the bastion in the south-west angle of Corpus site. It does not occur in our maps or view-plans, and scarcely in any notice of the college; a little searching will soon find it, and when found it will prove that the south wall of the City was fortified in the same style as the north, and apparently was not a bit weaker in construction.

xx. Merton Street.

P. 149. 'This Lane ⟨Grove Lane⟩ butteth upon Martin Colledge Church, which Church is called by the name of St. John Baptist Church, and serveth not onely for that Colledge, but is the Parish Church alsoe of the fore named Lane, and C. C. Coll. and those Houses that are over against this Church and Albane Hall, and all the rest of the Lane till you come to the East gate of the Cittie. Over against Albane Hall there is a passage on the left hand leading unto the High Streete, and almost opposite to that of St. Peter's in the East, besides that other which I last mentioned.'

Coming into St. John's Street, if we were not already in it, the first place to be noticed is on the north side at the corner—**St. John's**

Hall. In an Oseney rental of 1317 (V. p. 424) it is called the house of John of St. John, probably a member of that family which proved such benefactors to Godstow; next to it is the tenement of Ralph the writer. This was transferred to Fox in 1532, and was described in 1518 (V. p. 613) as ground or void place commonly called St. John's Hall between Beamhall on the east and the highway leading from St. John's Church to that of St. Mary the Virgin and adjoining Backlane on the north. **Beam Hall**, which assumes here and there the name of 'Jeans,' probably John's, comes next, but there is a piece of old work in the middle of Beam Hall which may be connected with Ralph's house or with Jesus Hall. **Merton Stables** follow, now disguised, but early drawings of them show that they have been 'modified' out of Early Decorated structures. The horse-pond behind them is there no longer, but it is worth while to recall its existence, as **Gutter Hall** just west of Merton College Chapel, and the tanning pits discovered on the Corpus site, may have a connexion not very remote with **Wanter's** mill on Merton property. Next we have **Portionists'** or Postmasters' Hall, the residence of Anthony Wood, but since his time it has lost its porch and its little forecourt of stone, and early in the eighteenth century the interior was refitted with very good work for the period, but alas! for the irreverence which destroyed every trace of the interpreter of our Oxford history. It is some distance to Logic Lane, but there are not many things to notice, and that will be a good stopping place. To the east of Portionists' Hall was **Knight Hall**, reaching through to Kibald Street, Anthony Wood's garden. Coleshull or **Colecill Hall** adjoined the last, and its site also became a garden. A house, facing St. Alban's, stands on the site of **Aristotle's Hall**.

We return to study the south side of this part of the street. The church, once of St. John the Baptist parish, has an Early Decorated chancel and Perpendicular north and south transepts. They are an excellent school for the study of architecture. No nave was ever built, though provision was made for it, and for north and south aisles. A sacristy at the south-east is apparently of about the year 1320, and close to this, south-east of the church, some interments have been discovered;—a stone coffin found here was for a long time in Merton stable on the other side of the street. Two of the long dormitories of the original structure have been converted into a well-known and historic library. There is, west of the hall of Merton, an unique muniment room, perhaps the library of the

infant institution; its two side walls are brought together upon three deep and strong arches, they meet and form a stone covering of great durability and fire-proof, but scarcely to be called a groined roof.

Where **St. Alban Hall** joins Merton, are the remains of the earliest collegiate structure in England. Two windows and a doorway, patched on the exterior, are all that is now left of it, but it was once an L-shaped building, probably the Warden's Great Hall. The interior mouldings and the window-frames, happily preserved, tell of a style simpler and earlier than the chapel, and this can be better judged by inspecting Loggan's view of it facing the street. Its architectural interest vanished under the inartistic touch of the architect Blore, just as did the character of Chichele's chapel at St. John's College. The mischief is done, the lesson it teaches ought to remain. The hand of the restorer and remodeller is the fist of a destroyer, the modernizer is equally dangerous—when will the conservative repairer be called in?

The advowson of the church, and a tenement west of it, were granted to the college by Reading Abbey in 1266, reserving a rent of 3*s.* In August of the same year the king gave some void land, and probably his Way-under-the-walls, but under the obligation of making two gateways, one east, the other west; and it has not been determined whether these were through the City wall into the **Tymber Yard**, or at each end through the necessary fence-walls at the ends. It will be noticed that Agas draws a series of steps over a cross-fence south of Merton. A Dr. Turner of Merton, writing in 1629, says, as reported by Twyne (23, p. 765), that they, i.e. Merton, have a subterranean passage of spring water in arched work from Holywell and the Town ditch there, and that it is that water that cometh out under the wall hard by the back postern. Yet three ditches across the Tymber Yard are remembered by some elderly people, much as Agas draws them. To the east of Merton lies St. Alban's Hall—whether **Nun Hall** and Alban Hall were combined, cannot be said—the road to the east of it, or them, has been already noticed. Next comes **Hert Hall**, very nearly opposite Logic Lane, and **Lamb Hall** follows.

Now for the second and less important part of the street, still keeping on the south side. There were two **Bileby Halls** here, but no other hall of whose site we can judge at all accurately; but turning to the right, there was under the walls a piece of ground

thirty feet wide at the north end, nineteen feet at the south, and seventy-nine yards long, for which (Hester's papers) many leases were taken out by Merton from the City, until the college finally bought it. This may be put down as a bit of the *royal-way*, a former road or lane, enclosed and sold, being about the ninth we have chronicled. Stress has been laid throughout this peregrination upon the royal-way under the walls, and this supports the view—one must not say the theory.

xxi. Magdalen College and East Oxford.

P. 149. 'And now beeing come to the East gate of the Cittie, I make this observation, that prudent Antiquitie provided, that the two Churches of St. Michaell should be placed att the South and Northgate, and St. Peter not farr from the' (P. 150) 'West and Easterne gates, according to an old verse :

*Invigilat portae Australi Boreaeque Michayell:
Exortum solem Petrus regit atque cadentem.*

The North and South gates St. Michaell doth guard :
The East and West St. Peter's care doth ward.

And this maie suffice for the Description of the Easterne part of this Cittie within the Walls. Noething now remaineth, but onely the Suburbs of the East gate, which containeth on the left hand a faire Front, all belonging and adjoyning unto Magdalen Coll. on the right hand certaine poore Cottages and scattering Houses, unto the Gate of Trinitie Lane.'

The fair front must have been certain small and rather pretty houses on the site of the present St. Swythun's quadrangle, called **New Row** by Wood (*City*, i. 294 n.), in which, apparently on the north side, were Barbour's tenement, **Waldri Hall**, and a **White Hall** (V. p. 204); on the south side a **Shield Hall** (V. p. 194), and then **Trinitie Chapel**, a noted spot where the civic authorities received in pomp their newly elected Mayor when he returned from visiting his Sovereign to receive the royal approval—a serious journey, one would say, for a plain citizen, when the king happened to be as far off as York. Thus, in 1318 (Tw. 23, p. 236); Delivered to John de Hampton, Mayor, for his expenses at York for his presentation to the king, four marks. Behind these last places was

Pary's meadow, which is supposed to have come quite up to the east wall of the City. Across the road here were one or two streams, besides the two arms of the Cherwell. There were then islands or eyots, or aits, enough; from one of these the district from East Gate to St. Clement's acquired the name **Bruges-ete**, island of the bridge.

P. 150. 'Beyond this, the South side of Magdalen Coll. on the one side, and a Tenement, adjoining unto the Phisick Garden, bring us unto the Bridge over Charwell, leading us into the Parish of St. Clement, which hath Tenements likewise on both sides, and two waies,' (P. 151) 'the one leading unto Boltshipton Farme, which is called London waie, the other towards St. Bartholomew's and the Countrie adjoining.' (Life of St. Clement omitted—*vide* 103, *Pl.*)

Magdalen Hall came first on the north side, and then a relic of the old St. John's Hospital, founded as early as the twelfth century. Hugo de Malaunay, in his charter, 1190 (D. 11, p. 5), makes this declaration: Know all of you (universitas) that I have confirmed to God and to the Hospital of St. John Baptist situated outside the east gate of Oxford all the lands and tenements within the burgh of Oxenford and without, which Peter Boterel held on the day he was alive and dead, whereof the Lord John Earl of Mortein was seised on the day when the Lord Richard, King of England, and Philip King of France began their journey towards Jerusalem, and which the same Earl John gave to me, above the rent of ten shillings which the said John had before given to the Brethren. Before its doorway stood a noted **wayside cross**, about which, in the City records, 1331 (Tw. 23, p. 455), we read thus: The Masters, brethren and men of St. John's Hospital are not to be distressed or disquieted by the City authorities, as they have been of late for the making and repair of the way which reaches from **Little Bridge**, Oxford, even to the Cross near the gate of the Hospital. When crossing **Tu-brugge**, appropriate term enough, where arches have to cross the two Cherwells, we may note that, although in Agas's map it appears like a long wooden bridge, yet Mr. Varney's model, and further inquiry on our own part, have satisfied us that it was a stone bridge with several pointed arches, widened with wooden additions, at least on the north side. We might, perhaps, in earlier days have seen traces of the draw-bridge (*pous tractabilis*), and of the wooden arch at the extreme east.

Leaving St. Clement's Church, which then stood at the east end of Magdalen Bridge, on the left, a road to Milham Bridge, running south-west, might once have been seen, and just where the Magdalen School premises now terminate, a lane running down from it to the river, bearing the name of Tell Mill Lane, a corruption of Temple Mill Lané, from a mill belonging to the brethren of Temple Cowley. Take the trouble to note the spot on Loggan's map, and you will see it was a decoy-pond in his time. In the same map, too, will be seen the Star-fort in 'Campus field,' a grand earthwork of Charles' time, but wonderfully diminished within these fifty years.

P. 152. 'The waie leading unto St. Bartholomewe's is a Causy leading directly thither, which is a poore Hospitall, belonging unto Oriell Coll. and is counted the utmost Limitt of the Universitie Eastward. Unto the Chappell of this Hospitall, the Fellowes of New Colledge with their Quire did formerly, and doe formally, resort once a yeare, every May day Morning, and haveing made their Oblations, and sung Anthems for a space, they conclude this wholl Ceremonie and their Visitation with a passing along through the Grove to the Well, and doeing the like observance there.'

As to the roads thence, there were then but two; the short cut, now Iffley Road, was of later construction; in Hutten's time Iffley was reached by a branch road from that towards **Cowley**. It is the Cowley Road which Hutten calls 'the waie leading unto St. Bartholomewe's.' This too was a causy, but only an embanked one (the writer has seen most of it upturned to some depth), because on this higher ground there were no streams. **Bolleshippton Farm** was a short distance towards Headington, where Boulter Street, St. Clement's, now is, but the grounds are the old enclosure, now called South Park. The St. Clement's road to London passed over **Shotover Hill**, and here the writer will make one more quotation from Twyne (23, p. 244), Chamberlains' accounts of 1420: 'Expense of wax torches at Shotover through the night, waiting for the coming of our lord (i. e. Henry V)'; and will conclude with the Carmelite Baston's lines:—

'Si quid deliqui, si quae recitanda reliqui,
Haec addant hi qui non sunt sermonis iniqui.'

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES

A.

The Cloister of **All Souls' College** (p. 166). A remarkable bird's-flight view of this College, of sixteenth-century execution, after 1553 (now on the eve of publication in the F. E. Robinson series of Histories), enables us to form a very good idea of this structure, which was much after the model of that at New College; and fortunately it is seen from a point of view opposite to that in Loggan's map. It provides us also with valuable representations of the houses in Catte Streete and The High Streete which were near that College, especially of Drogheda and Staunton Halls. The gutters, channels or 'kennels' of the streets were then in the middle of the roadway, and there is still no trace of anything like a footpath under the buildings.

B.

Friar Bacon's Study (p. 21) is shown in an early view as an embattled gateway without the large upper room so generally conspicuous; it has a gateway on the south, provided with two gates each pierced with narrow slits, but no portcullis shows. There is a stream on the north as well as on the south, each spanned by a plank-road intended to represent drawbridges, but no contrivance for pulling them up is to be seen. These bridges being hinged on the edges toward the tower might have had counterpoises attached, and been capable of being swung up and down by mechanism in the basement of the building. Isolated gateways of this kind are still to be seen remaining in a few mediaeval structures.

C.

Brasenose College Chapel (p. 89). A lease by the Principall and Scholars to John Kinge, of the Inner Temple, London, dated March 14, 1649, specifies the Howses and Scite of the late dissolved

Colledge of St. Mary, having Crown Lane on the south part and the land of Robert Gilks and Henry Coxe on the east part. It reserves to the Colledge the power of giving six months' notice 'to enter with workmen and labourers, with Carts and Horses upon any part of it, to pull downe the olde Chappell thereupon and to remove all the materialls of the said olde Chappell, of Stoane, Tymber, Lead, &c. to carry awaye for the building of a Chappell within Brasennose Colledge according to the intencion of the last will and Testament of Samuel Radclif, D.D. late Principal.' The pulling down not to effect the rent.

D.

Earlshamme (p. 19). To add to the complexity about the islets near Folly Bridge, another one has been encountered bearing the above name, and described in 1613 as being 'five acres in extent, in the parish of St. Aldate, between a meadow there called Christ-church meade and the river called Shirelake.' Wood (*City*, i. 453) asks if this was the same as Erlychesyte.

E.

East Gate. It is much to be regretted that the excavations made last year, in digging cellars for the new hotel there, did not clear up the question whether the early towers flanking the different gates of Oxford were circular or square in plan. The former seems the more probable, as they, like circular bastions, would not require so much skilled masonry in their construction, and when completed would not afford angles for the enemy's tools to operate upon. Among the Gough Drawings is one supposed to be of East Gate before King James' time, i.e. before it was reconstructed. It shows a round tower, in ruins, on both sides of the gateway; and a row of small trees, said to be those on the Gravel-walk at Magdalen, can be seen through the pointed arch which spans the roadway. The North Gate in Agas has also two such round towers, and of the roundness of the one to the west we are certain. South Gate and West Gate appear in Agas to be too isolated to be accurate, and his East Gate presents some difficulties. Smith Gate and the one near the Cathedral, if not a mere postern, seem to have one

bastion only at the side. Those repeated by Skelton from a series of drawings of about 1720-1750 do not show enough of the walls on each side to enable an opinion to be formed upon this point. The whole matter is doubtful.

F.

The Buildings of Osney (p. 92). From Browne Willis MS. folio xlv. Bodl. p. 134, from a Letter to him by Bp. Tanner.

CH. CH., OXON,
July 12, 1728.

DEAR MR. WILLIS,

. . . You are pretty particular I find in enumerating the several parts of the old Buildings of this and other old Abbeys—so that perhaps it will please your curiosity to have such account of the names and bigness of the Lodgings and Offices belonging to Osney as may be found upon the leases and other papers since it was made part of the endowment of Christ Church. How they were situated I don't pretend to describe, perhaps Mr. Wood's may be the most exact: but in a loose old paper some of the buildings are reckoned up and perhaps rightly in this order:—

	Feet long.	Feet broad.		Feet long.	Feet broad.
The Long Stable . . .	—	—	another place called the		
Mr. Bysely's Lodgings . . .	55	25	Leaden Chamber] or Mr.		
Another house adjoining to			Dyer's Lodging . . .	45	26
the same . . .	40	—	The parler under Mr.		
Where the Almesmen lay .	30	—	Dyer's Lodging . . .	—	—
Two propre chambers at			The Kiln House with the		
the end of the Dortre			Furnese House . . .	76	32
with rooms above and			Mr. Belsyre's Stable . . .	40	16
beneath them . . .	—	—	The loft over the Schole .	50	24
The Dorter* . . .	169	32	The Schoolmaster's		
The Frater* with a pulpit			Chamber . . .	24	16
in it (*both with vaults			The Schole House . . .	—	—
underneath) . . .	140	36	Mr. Haynes lodging . . .	—	—
The Brewhouse . . .	40	32	The Great Hall . . .	59	33
The slaughter House with			The Yate House. I sup-		
other offices thereto be-			pose this was the outer-		
longing . . .	84	—	gate House or the gate		
The Abbats Hall — the			House at the entrance of		
Abbats High Hall or			the Abbey . . .	—	—
Abbat John's Hall stand-			The Little Chamber near		
ing alone Southward from			the same . . .	—	—
the Fratrie next the			The porters Lodge . . .	—	—
Orchard . . .	46	34	The Great Barn . . .	88	28
The Leaded Lodging [in					

Thus far that paper, which is imperfect, because I find in others mention of other Buildings, viz.—

<p>The Middle Gate House. Mr. Lynch's Lodging. The Dove House. The Miln House. Mr. Deys lodgings. Mr. Belsire's lodgings. The Deans lodgings distinct from the Abbats lodgings. The Deans Stable with the lodging annexed. The Bake House.</p>	<p>The Common Kitchin. The Firmary. The Chapter House. The Jakes House. The Prison House. The Conduit House adjoining to the Fratry and Cloysters. The Great Tower in which was Clock and Chymes. The whole Church with the vaults.</p>
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In MS. Rawlinson D. 1481, fol. 32, is another list of the Buildings in Bp. Tanner's hand, here reprinted. The *Archaeologia*, Vol. 43, p. 237, also supplies other particulars not topographical.

Mannor House or syte of the Mannor of the Cathedral Church of O[seney].

	<p>High Hall—The Abbots lodging standing alone next y^e Orchard with y^e yards and gatehouse. Mr. Lynchs lodging. The Dove house. The Miln house. Mr. Deys lodgings. The Bakehouse. Mr. Belsires lodgings. The Deans lodging. The Deans Stable with the lodging annexed therunto.</p>	<p>Columbines Orchyd. The Abbats Garden. (11) The Leaden Chamber. The Common Kitchin. The firmary. The Chapter House. The Jakes house. The Prison House. The whole Church with the vaults of y^e same. The Tower. The Conduite House adjoining to the Fratrics and Cloyster walls of the West side of y^e Cloyster.</p>
<p>The Frater. The Dorter. The Church.</p>		

1. The long stable—utterly taken away.
2. Mr. Bysleys Lodgings in length 55 f. in breadth 25 f.
3. Another house adjoining to y^e same lodging at y^e E. End in length 40 f.
4. Where the Almesmen lay in length 30 f.
5. At the end of the Dortre 2. propre Chambers, with rooms beneath and above them.
6. Dorter in length 169 f. in breadth 32 f. } With vaults
7. Frater in length 140 f. breadth 36 f.—the Pulpit in decay. } underneath.
8. . . . in length 40 f.—breadth 24.
9. Slater House with other Houses of Office in length 84 f.
10. The Abbots Hall standing alone Southward from the fratric Abbat Johns Hall in length 46 in breadth 34.
11. The Leaded lodging or Mr. Dyer[s] lodging in length 45 f. in bredth 26 f.
12. The parler underneath Mr. . . . lodging.
The great Hall part of y^e Mansyon house where A. lived.
13. The kyln house with the furnese House in length 76—Breadth 32 f.
14. Mr. Belsyres Stable in length 40 f.—in bredth 16 f.
15. The loft over the Schole 50 f. in length 24 in breadth.

16. The Scole Masters Chamber 24 in length 16 in breadth.

The Outer Gate House otherwise called the great Gatehouse at the entreing of the Grange. The Middle Gatehouse.

17. The Schole House.

18. Mr. Haynes lodging.

19. The great Hall—in length 59 f. in breadth 33 f.

20. The Yatehouse without steyes—in length 38 in breadth 28.

21. The little Chamber near the same.

22. The porters lodge.

23. The great barn in length 88 in bredth 28.

G.

Postern at New College. Though several Posterns have been mentioned, the one in New College gardens, within five feet west of the angle-bastion, has been omitted. Having been neatly blocked up with masonry, probably from Wickham's time, it is not easily discerned; indeed it may have escaped notice till 1895, for such I find is the date of my sketch. The jambs are 4 feet 6 inches high and 4 feet 9 inches from each other; the arch above is semicircular, about 5 feet 3 inches across. The untouched jamb, like several in the bastion near it, has the ledge at its top about 3 inches wide, on which feature see p. 201. On questioning whether it could not be opened there seemed to be some objections: these it is to be hoped are not insuperable. In the eastern wall of the same gardens a low arch is drawn in one of Loggan's views, in a line with the centre of St. Peter's Churchyard, but whether at any time it was over the trench so common by the sides of roads has yet to be discovered. It reaches through the wall and shows itself at the end of the garden of No. 12 Long Wall.

H.

St. John's Road (p. 116). It might be added that the entire length of this Road has been formed in the hollow of a gravel-pit, and this explains why the houses at a short distance from it, north and south, stand on higher ground.

I.

St. Nicholas Chapel. The statement (p. 18) that the chapel might be on the east side of the Abingdon Road has proved incorrect. A 'bird's-flight' view lately discovered (made about the end of Elizabeth's reign, to produce before Court in a question of title) places Chapel Close on the east where it now is, and the chapel on the west. The same view supplies us with the earliest drawing yet known of the great south causeway, showing eighteen

arches south of the Study, of which nine have water under them, or a water-course running through them.

J.

The name **Salesurry** (p. 160) has been more fully investigated, and it has been remarked that while all documents constantly oppose the Salisbury theory, its supporters are found to be the later authorities Leland and Twyne. The latter, in speaking of an exchange of the hall, though he must have had 'Salesury' before him, preferred in his note upon the document, to call it Salysbury. The earliest form 'Sale de Syrrae' (Hall of Syrra or Syrrie) provides the key to the six other variants, and the form Salisbury probably rests on the desire of making that city, like Gloucester and Durham, have a house in Oxford.

K.

Trill Mill Stream (p. 33). Regarding the two streams running south from this, the maps of the last century prove to be defective, because both were sufficiently open thirty or thirty-four years since for boys to punt down them from the 'Swans' nest and neighbourhood, to see the University boat-races, and thus escape the tolls at the lock near Friar Bacon's Study.

L.

A new part of the **City Wall** discovered in 1898 has now been uncovered (Sept. 1899). It takes a diagonal line across the Quadrangle south of the Clarendon Building, and is very much in the direction drawn by Agas, either touching or closely approaching the Chapel of Our Lady, which still exists between Hertford College and the Indian Institute. The masonry and other peculiarities make it very doubtful whether it is not later than the walls at New College. A bastion has also been uncovered, just east of the Sheldonian, some chambers flanking it, and a second City-wall running eastward from the bastion rather toward the Bodleian Quadrangle and then curving round so as to pass under the north entrance to it. As this has evidently been built against some embankment and the masonry is of very early character, it may be assigned to the time of D'Oilly (v. p. 133).

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